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p. 54 &c. Roger Williams & Anne Hutchinson

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The Way of CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES *CLEARED:*

In two TREATISES

In the former, { From the Historical Aspersions of Mr. *Robert Baylie*, in his Book, called [A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time.]

In the latter, { From some Contradictions of VINDICÆ CLAVIUM:

And from, { Some Mis-constructions of Learned Mr. *Rutherford* in his Book intituled [The due Right of Presbyteries.]

By Mr. JOHN COTTON, sometime Preacher at *Boston* in *Lincolne-shire*, and now Teacher of the Church at *Boston*, in *New-England.*

LONDON,

Printed by *Matthew Simmons*, for *John Bellamie*, at the signe of the three Golden-Lions, in *Cornhill*. 1648.

An Epistle PACIFICATORY, *To the* Brethren *dissenting from this Way:*

Here (Reverend Brethren) is presented unto you in Print, that very Copie, which the worthy Author (Mr *John Cotton*, Teacher of the Church at *Boston* in New England) sent together with his letter under his own hand unto me. His honouring me therein (upon my real account) deserved his request, *that I would assist the Press*, which with the greatest diligent opportunity put into my hands I have performed. And the worth of the subject, and the Authors sweet and solid handling of it, hath richly rewarded my labour, *legendo, perlegendoq;*, in the whole and perusal thereof. The *Man*, most patient towards a sharp *Antagonist*, (you your selves being judges.) The *Manner of handling*, gracious; meek words, playing the Champion for Veritie and Innocency, with arguments of steel, unsheathed and shining with an amiable plainnes of speech, and a free and sincere openesse of heart. The *Matter* partly *Apologetical*, partly *Controversal*. In the *former* part you will meet with: 1. A true and terse History of the purer Churches in later pudled times: The blots aspersed upon them, cleerly pumiced and spunged off; and divers precious Saints for learning and religion (through whose sides Christs wayes by opponents have been sorely wounded) ἐυτόνως ἢ ἀναπολογήτως, evidently and unrepliablely vindicated. 2. A very good account of many singular Doctrinal points, not onely of more speculative Theologie, ventelating the chaff from the wheat, Error from Truth; but of most practical Soul-searching, Soul-saving, and Soul-solacing Divinitie. I might give golden instances, glaring gloriously upon my Spirit, but for falling under a leaden retard-

ing of dispatch; fearing lest the presse tarry for me; for it even treads on my heel. In the latter part of this Book, being Controversal, you have a fair *Additional* to the [a] Models (afore printed) of the Church way (so much called for by you;) not Magisterially laid down, but friendly debated by Scripture, and argumentatively disputed out to the utmost inch of ground, and defended *Cap a pie* (as they speak) from the head to the heel, of every branch of Truth essential to the controversie.

[a] 1 Church government and Church Covenant.
2 The way of the Churches in N. England.
3. The *Apologet. Narrat.*
4. The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven.
5. The model of the Church way by M. *Bariler.*
6. Answer to 32 Quest.

Now then (worthy Brethren) consider and view over what ye gain to your design, whiles some among you endeavour by pen to blot the fair copy of Truth; (because *you* at *present* [b] Stoop not down low enough to see it a Truth) and to crosse out of the Book of mens memory and esteem the names of them whom God will honour, though you will not? Surely the coppy is written out fairer and fuller; books are multiplied; more men reade them; and by reason of the late mists hovering over Truth, and cordes of bondage streightning mens consciences; all men of conscience are more eager to search out, and having found, to stand to, and sit down by those Truths that clear their minds, and set free their spirits. Mists mantling and masking, the Sun ascending, are soon cast off, and dispelled by its beams, being neer his Zenith. We grasp with men of rising parts, and high places, for free speaking, about Text proof Points, to our losse. By an Antiperistatical opposition, the zeal of godly learned Writers, (before concealedly clouded with more silence) is set on fire: the cloud breaks, the voyce of their thunder (as the Historian speaks of that Greek Commander *Pericles* his Fulminating Oratory) awakens the World, and the flame burns up *the hay and stubble.* Truth is like Camomile; the more it is trodden, the more it spreads. Like the Wal-nut tree, the more it is beaten for its fruit this year, the more it fructifies the next. Eclipses cause men more to stare after the Sun, and more joy in the injoying of its light, when

[b] 1. Pet. 1.12. Εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι
The Angels desire earnestly to stoop down to look into the things of the Gospel.

1. Cor. 3.12,13, 14. &c.

when got free. The *Iews* crying up Mosaical Ceremonies, and humane traditions; *Stephen*, *Peter*, *Paul*, dispute, Preach, Apologize for the Spiritualtie, and liberty of the Gospel. Act. 2. Act. 4. What succeeds? thousands are converted, ten thousand are convinced, and the World is *over-run with the knowledge of the truth, as the waters cover the Sea.* The *Gentiles* likewise, (especially the *Roman Empire*) take the next turn to dedignifie the christians, scandalize their religious practises, and to persecute both (witnesse the ten persecutions.) What was the income, the return of gain upon that adventure? Upstart those mighty Giants in Religion, awakned with an holy inflammation of zeal, *Aristides*, *Justinus*, *Melito Apollinaris*, *Athenagoras*, *Apollonius*, *Tertullianus*, &c. And gloriously Apologize for the Truth: *Iames*, *Thomas*, *Andrew*, *Matthew*, *Philip*, *Mark*, and others of the *Apostles*; *Simon* and *Parmenas* of the 7. *Deacons*; *Simeon*, *Zenon*, *Polycarp*, and millions more in ensuing ages by succession, die for Christ, and seal to the certainty of the Truth with their blouds, making glorious confessions of it, whereby many Martyrizers, become Martyrs. *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ.* Whiles the Persecutors marred (as they thought) Martyrs, they made Martyrs: and by their opposition they increased shrill and conspicuous confessions and professions of the Truth of Jesus. In so much that *Plyny* a great States man to the Emperour, writes to him a persuasive to stay the persecution. At last, an Emperor himself *Constantine the Great*, becomes a Christian, and then down went *Barrabas*, and *Christ* was exalted. The Sun of the Gospel shone out once again over the face of the whole earth.

Sanguine fundata est Ecclesia, sanguine crevit, sanguine succrevit, sanguine finis erit.

Therefore my humble request to you my Reverend Brethren, is, that yee more study Peace, and stir up Love, among Brethren, and lesse controversie in these unparelleld times of universal contention, totally polemical, both Scholastically, and civilly. And to this end let us be warned (by that good account this Book renders unto us) of facil credulity

lity, either to reports, or letters, or Books, unleſſe they be handed to us from the Authors themſelves, with whom ye have to do. Otherwiſe (as this book bears notable witnes) our eyes and ears shal be abuſed, and our judgements warped from the ſimplicity and ſtrictneſſe of Truth. Suppoſe any real difference should be between us, if we agree in *foundation doctrinals*, yea, and in the main Principles of the *conſtitution* and *jurisdiction*, or power of a *particular Congregational Church*, as that it should conſiſt of *Saints in union*, inveſted with *Power* to take in and caſt out; I wonder it should amount to ſo high a conteſt, about degrees (which alter not the kind) of *forming* and *reforming* ſuch a Church? *You* ſay SAINTS in *outward profeſſion* is *the Matter* of ſuch a Church; and an implicit uniting, *viz.* a walking and communicating with you is a ſufficient *evidencing of the form*. *We* judge that *real* SAINTS uttering in diſcourſe the breathings of the Holy Spirit, and experiences of converſion, witneſſed in a ſtricter converſation to be the *Matter*; and their *ſolemn confeſſion* of their Faith, and *expreſſe open covenanting* with the Lord to walk with ſuch a body of Saints in all the wayes of Chriſt to their light and power for reciprocal edification, to be the *Manifeſt Form*. How is it now that only *a going before one another in degrees of reformation, according to the National ſolemn League and Covenant*, should breed in you as it were a *ſpecial* oppoſition againſt us? If you have a mind to aſcend up higher to fetch down differences from above, about *Appeals*. Nor here hence is their juſt cauſe to build up ſuch Bulworks of Hoſtilitie between Brethren. If in the reign of *Epiſcopacy*, thoſe Parishes were quiet where could not be found work for the *Hierarchie* to intermeddle; ſurely then the *Claſſes* may conveniently permit particular Congregations, (proſtrated below them as it were at their feet) to reſt in peace, whiles they meetly manage their own Church affairs, within their own Sphere. If *we* need advice, we shal willingly look on a company of Godly Elders and Brethren of

other

Churches, called together for counsel by our, and other Churches be the Assembly of them smaller, greater, or greatest) as upon an Ordinance of Christ, and as bound by the Truth of Christ as readily to receive, as they are to give counsel to us according to the Truth. Onely we cannot be contented to look absolutely upon all their advise without exception) as *authoritative* dictates, and *Magisterial Canons*, necessarily to be obeyed *sub pœna* under a penalty, how much soever our consciences remain unsatisfied the mean whiles.

Peace-makers, not Breach-makers.

The case standing here abouts (as near as I could rough draw the state of it in this instantaneous hast) let us I beseech you be rather *Irenæi*, then *Cassandri*. As we do ὀρθοποδεῖν (*Galat.* 2.14.) walk even *with the right foot in the Gospel*; so let's in discipline (whiles the difference in the thing is no wider) give one another as the Apostle speaks, *Gal.*2.9.) the *right hand of fellowship*. A learned Scot well observeth, that *there is a kind of justice among theeves, else their society would be disbanded*. And shall it not be among Brethren, Saints, Ministers, least we dissolve Churches, yea, ordinary communion of Saints. Let *Idol-Dagon* be half fish and half man, but let not Christ be divided, nor the profession of his Truth be set at ods. If our hearts grudge (and let that be our sorrow) yet let us not [a] gnash the teeth and saw one anothers repute a two, with the teeth of keen words. Let not anger [b] קצף boyl up into a foam, to throw the steem upon one another Hereby we else slay both the souls of thousands, and of ten thousands to their sinne, and our discomfort. O it is a sad thought on my spirit, teat we should pretend to have the *Paraclet* (so called in many languages for its comprehensive signification of *Friend*, *Comforter*, *Doctor*, *Advocate*, *Intercessor*, &c.) that is, the *Spirit* to be our *comforter*, and yet should appear so little in us, to *teach us* and *convince us* of reviling

Weems. *Portrait p.1.*

[a] Act.7.54.

[b] Ester.1.18. The word signifies to be angry, and to foam.

Chalde. Iob.16.10. פרקליט, *Syriac.* Iohn 16.v.7. פרקלוטא *Gr.* παράκλητος In N.T. often *Vet. Lat. Paracli-tus*, in N.T. often

lipending, or to work in us *love*, *friendship*, and *beseechings* towards one another. Now that the Lord would by his Spirit, with a second conversion (as the Scripture cals the progresse of mortification of some special corruption) transform our rugged hearts into love, charity, yea dilection, is the prayer of yours to serve you in the Lord, and for the Lord,

NATHANAEL HOMES.

The worthy name of the Reverend and Learned Author of this Treatise (which with delight I have perused) is a sufficient argument to perswade, not onely to the reading of it, but also to a beliefe and expectation of something Excellent therein.

Imprimatur

January 1. 1647. *John Bachiler.*

Treatise I.

CHAPT. I.

Of the Title inscribed to Mr. Baylie *his Book, A Dissvasive from the Errors of the Time.*

NOah gave it for a blessing to his son *Japhet* (in a word both of Prophecy and Prayer) *God perswade* Japhet *to dwell in the Tents of* Shem, *Gen.*9.27. And if a Perswasive to dwell in the Tents of *Shem* were a blessing; then a Dissvasive from the Errors of the Time (rightly so called) is a blessing also. But when Mr. *Baylie* is pleased amongst the Errors of the time to reckon (that which he calleth) Independency; he may do well to consider, whether he bring not upon his credulous Reader a curse in stead of a blessing.

The supposed Errors found in those who are called Independent Churches, are chiefly two, upon which all the rest doe depend: and both of them such as may well be cleared by *Noah's* blessing.

For, 1. they hold, that *Cham* and *Chanaan*, whilst they are such, (that is, graceless persons, and scorners at the falls and infirmities of the Saints) they are not to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. *Noah* did not pray for such a blessing to them; yea, it had been a curse both to them and *Shem* (if he had so prayed) and not a blessing.

2. They hold also, that *Japhet* himself should not be brought to dwell in the Tents of *Shem* till God perswade him. They

PART I. would not have *Shem* to enlarge his Tents, to compasse or compell *Japhet* to live under his shadow. It is one thing for *Japhet* and *Shem* to dwell together by voluntary consociation; another thing for *Shem* to rule over *Japhet* by undesired and unallowed jurisdiction. Let *Cham* and *Chanaan* be as servants unto *Shem* and to *Japhet* too, (for so *Noah* prophecyed:) but let not *Japhet* be a servant to *Shem*, no more then *Shem* to *Japhet*. But though these bee the principall Tenents of Independents (as they are called;) and indeed blessed truths in the blessing of *Noah*: yet Mr. *Baylie* reckoneth these amongst the Errors of the Times; and the Independents themselves amongst the wanderers on the right hand, together with Brownists, (as he calleth them,) Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers: As on the left hand, he reckoneth Prelates, Papists, Arminians, Socinians, Erastians. And it should seem, he taketh Independents to be one of the most dangerous Sects of them all, (at least, as the state of the times now standeth:) or else he would not have addressed all the whole force of his Discourse against them: Onely taking up Brownists (as he stileth them) by the way, to usher in the other with the greater prejudice. But for my part, I dislike not Mr. *Baylie's* zeal against Errors where it is rightly placed: Onely let him allow the like liberty to us, which he taketh to himself, That as he publisheth a Dissuasive against Errors; so we may have leave to bear witnesse to the Truth.

CHAP. II.

Of those whom the Dissuader styleth Brownists.

SECT. 1.

"MAster *Baylie* rightly observeth, That in our departure "& flight from *Rome*, some took up their stand too soon, "before they had passed the lines (he meaneth all the lines) of "communication with the Whore: and others ran on too long "(or too far) beyond the bounds of truth and love. The former of these sorts he maketh the Lutherans, in respect of some defects in their Reformation. The latter, he maketh to be the Anabaptists in *Germany*. The successors of the former, he maketh

so

to be *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and those other Confessors and Martyrs who setled Episcopacy and Ceremonies in *England*. The successors of the latter sort, (the Anabaptists) he maketh to be those whom he styleth Brownists. PART I.

But as there is a vast difference between the Episcopacy of *England*, and the Superintendency of *Germany*, (the one ruling by Monarchicall Power, the other by the consent of the Aristocraticall Presbytery:) so neither is there such correspondency between the *Germane* Anabaptism, and the *English* Brownism, as to make Brownism a native branch of Anabaptism.

"Yes, (saith the Disswader) That Brownism is a native branch "of Anabaptism, is evidenced, by the frequent transition of the "one to the other. The dissolution of ice and snow into water, "argueth strongly their originall from that element; so the "ordinary running over of the Separatists to the Anabaptists.

Answ. The dissolution of ice and snow into water, doth indeed argue strongly their originall from water, because they are easily resolved into it without putrefaction or corruption. But so is not the Separatist resolved into a *German* Anabaptist, without a further degree of corruption and putrefaction. It is no argument a man is bred of worms, because he is next resolved into worms; for he is not so resolved without putrefaction. Say not, a man is resolved at last into dust from whence he was first taken; and yet the resolution is not made without putrefaction. For a man is not made of dust naturally, but by a transcendent creating power above Nature. But the Disswader maketh the Separation a native branch of Anabaptism.

Besides, I suppose, it is not an obvious thing to hear of an Anabaptist turn Separatist, though some Separatists have turned Anabaptists; which argueth there is not such a mutuall frequent transition from the one to the other, as is yearly found of ice and snow into water, and of water into ice or snow again.

SECT. II.

The first Separatist, which the Disswader saith he hath read of, "was one *Bolton*, who was a Minister of an old separate Con-"gregation, and afterwards felt the sense of his Errors so grie-"vous to his soul, (by the finger of Gods Justice stirring in his

PART. I. "conscience) that he did not onely publickly at *Pauls-crosse* re-
"cant them, but thereafter was so dogged with a desperate re-
"morse, that he rested not till he had hanged himself.

Answ. 1. Though *Bolton* may have been the first Separatist that the Disswader hath read of; yet he might have read of others before him. For in the Book called The Register of memorable matters touching Reformation, there is recorded a story of an hundred persons, who refused the common Liturgie, and the Congregations attending thereunto, and used prayers and preachings, and Sacraments amongst themselves: whereof 14 or 15 were sent to prison: Of whom the chiefest was Mr. *Smith*, with Mr. *Nixon*, *James Ireland*, *Robert Hawkins*, *Thomas Bowland*, and *Richard Morecroft*. And these pleaded their separation before the Lord Mayor, Bishop *Sands*, and other Commissioners on June 20. in the year 1567. which is about fourscore years agoe; and this as it seemeth was many years before *Bolton*; for Mr. *Baylie* reckoneth the wandring of the Separatists to be about 50 years standing, (*page* 59.) but this *Smith* and his company was 30 years before.

Answ. 2. Old Mr. *Bruister* (the reverend Elder of the Church of *Plymouth*, a man of long-approved piety, gravity, integrity) his testimony of this *Bolton* may take off the prejudice which the fearfull fall of *Bolton* seemeth to Mr. *Baylie* to cast upon the Separation: Which I will recite, not to justifie that way of his separation, but to take off unjust scandals. "This *Bolton* (saith he)
"partly by the terrors of Bishops, and partly by flattery, was
"brought indeed to recant. But afterwards they sleighting him,
"the terrors of the Almighty fell upon him, and considering
"how he had sinned against his conscience, he (*Judas*-like) laid
"violent hands upon himself.

But the Disswader may be pleased to consider, that Apostasie from the way of Separation, and terror of conscience even to desperation, and self-murder following thereupon, are no just exceptions against Separation: no more than *Judas* his apostasie from Christ, and terror of conscience even to desperation and self-hanging following thereupon, were any just exceptions against Christianity.

SECT.

SECT. III. *of Mr.* Brown, *and* Barrow.

Of Mr. *Brown* and Mr. *Barrow*, it is farre from me to make any defence either of their persons, or of their way of rigid Separation: the hand of God upon their spirit, giving them up, one to a spirit of inconstancy and prophanenesse; the other to a spirit of bitternesse and rashnesse. Though it is no just conviction of the errors of their way of Separation: yet it is a shrewd argument that either their way was not right, or their hearts not upright in it.

But this let me say, be it so, that *Brown* did revolt from his way, and took a Parsonage from the Bishop, and that in a Town by name called *A-church* in *Northampton-shire*, (a reall check to his error, who formerly counted every Church in *England* no Church:) yet this backsliding of *Brown* from that way of Separation, is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called after his name, Brownists. If *Judas*, or *Julian*, or *Eccebolius* doe apostate from Christianity, no reason is there that all that professe the way of Christianity should be called Judaites, or Julianists, or Eccebolians. In the Ecclesiasticall History, though *Photinus* was the disciple of *Marcellus* in an hereticall opinion touching Christ: yet the followers of them both, when *Marcellus* had revoked his error, were not called *Marcellini* but *Photiniani*. To speak with reason, if any be justly to be called Brownists, it is onely such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophanenesse. For Mr. *Barrow*, though I neither excuse the unsoundnesse of his judgment, nor the bitternesse of his style: yet I doubt the Disswader is deceived, when he saith, "That Queen "*Elizabeth* was so impatient of his contumelies, that she caused "him in a morning to be hanged on the Tower-hill. For there be grave Professors (who lived nearer those occurrences) who speak of Queen *Elizabeth* as ignorant of *Barrow*'s execution, and *Greenwood*'s, and displeased at it, when she heard of it afterwards: neither was their execution on Tower-hill, but at Tyburn, long after the sentence of death passed against them.

PART I.

SECT. IV. *of Mr.* Johnson, *and Mr.* Ainsworth.

The Disswader is deceived when he saith, "Mr. *Ainsworth* with "his half, did excommunicate Mr. *Johnson* and his half. For as I am informed by some judicious Professors who lived in those parts, Mr. *Ainsworth* and his company did not excommunicate Mr. *Johnson* and his, but onely withdrew from them, when they could no longer live peaceably with them. Mr. *Johnson* his last Book, argueth he had learned more moderation of spirit, then he did put forth in his former times.

Mr. *Ainsworth*, a man of a more modest and humble spirit, and diligently studious of the Hebrew Text, hath not beene unusefull to the Church in his Exposition of the *Pentateuch*, especially of *Moses* his Rituals, notwithstanding some uncircumcised, and ungrounded Rabbinicall observations recited, but not refuted.

But when the Disswader saith, that M. *Ainsworths* company after "his death, remained long without all Officers;

There bee sundry living that know the contrary. For when he dyed he left two Elders over the Church, Mr. *Delacinse*, and Mr. *May*.

And therefore I doe not see any ground of that speech,

"That the weight and evidence of Gods hand against "*Ainsworth* had so farre disgraced that Sect, as the Disswader expresseth. For though in simplicity of heart, in some things he went astray: yet the way he walked in, did not suffer disgrace by him, nor by the weight and evidence of Gods hand upon him, for ought I have ever heard or read of him, save in Mr. *Baylie*. The Lord knoweth how to bee mercifull to such as seeke him in simplicity of heart, according to light revealed, though hee doe observe and chasten some Errour in their way.

SECT. V. of Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Robinson*.

The fall indeed of Mr. *Smith*, and the Spirit of errors and instability that fell upon him, was more observable: and a dreadfull warning from heaven, against αὐθαδείαν selfe-fulnesse, and self-

selfe-pleasing. For though the tyranny of the Ecclesiasticall Courts was harsh towards him, and the yokes put upon him in his Ministery, too grievous to bee borne: yet neither was hee alone in suffering: Nor were those that suffered with him at that time, (Mr. *Clifton*, and Mr. *Robinson*) such inconsiderable Persons, that hee should affect to goe alone from them. It is true, he had found helpe by the conference (which himself had requested) with Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hilderson*, and Mr. *Barbon*, before he left *England*: yea and such helpe, that he thought he could have gained his Tutor *Iohnson*, from the Errors of his Rigid Separation. But hee had promised them, not to goe over to him, without their consents: and they utterly disswaded him there-from, as fearing his instability. And yet contrary to his Promise he went over to him, yea, and that contrary to his owne pretence and offer of another conference with them before his going. Though the way of Rigid Separation had been lesse Heterodoxall, then it is, yet to venture upon it in such breach of manifest Rules, no marvell, if it led him into manifest temptations and Abberations. PART I.

"The Disswader is mis-informed, when hee saith (page 16) he "moved a great company to follow him to *Ley* in *Holland*. For as I understand by such as lived in those parts at that time, hee lived at *Amsterdam*, and there dyed, and at *Ley* in *Holland* he never came.

Of Mr. *Robinson*, the Disswader doth rightly observe, that hee "was a man of the most learned, polished, and modest spi-"rit of that way, and withall hee might have said, so piously "studious, and conscientiously inquisitive after the Truth, that "(as the Disswader rightly observeth) it had beene truely a "marvell, if such a man as hee, had gone on to the end a rigid "Separatist.

As a fruit of his studious inquisition after the Truth, hee reforted (as I have understood) to many judicious Divines in *England* for the clearing of his Scruples, which inclined him to separation: and when hee came into *Holland*, hee addressed himselfe to Doctor *Ames*, and Mr. *Parker*: rather preventing them with seeking counsell and satisfaction, then waiting for their compassion. But as they excelled in learning and godlinesse, so in compassion and brotherly love also; and therefore as they discerned his weanednesse from selfe-fulnesse, so did they more freely

PART. I. freely communicate light to him, and received also some things from him. The fruit of which was (through the Grace of Christ) "that the Diſſwader himſelfe confeſſeth, hee came backe indeed the one halfe of the way: Acknowledging the lawfulneſſe of "communicating with the Church of *England*, in the Word "and Prayer: but not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline, which "was (ſaith hee) a faire Bridge, at leaſt a faire Arch of a Bridge "for union. But when he ſaith, hee came on to communicate "with the Church of *England* in the Word and Prayer, it muſt not bee underſtood of the Common-Prayer-Book, but of the Prayers conceived by the Preacher before and after Sermon: And yet in comming on ſo far as he did, he came more then halfe way of any juſt diſtance.

For though hee ſtuck at the Common Liturgy, Sacraments and Diſcipline: yet ſince then it hath appeared, there was no juſt ground of comming on to them. The Honourable Parliament, and Reverend Aſſembly of Divines have (by the grace of Chriſt) ſeen juſt cauſe to remove the Liturgy, to aboliſh the Hierarchy (which was the Diſcipline hee chiefly ſtuck at) and to give order for reſtraint of ignorant and ſcandalous Perſons from the Sacrament, which may well make up two or three Arches more (as Mr. *Baylie* calleth it) of that faire bridge for union, farre more then the halfe way.

It is true, Mr. *Robinſon* did not acknowledge a Nationall Church governed by the Epiſcopacy to be a Church of Divine Inſtitution. But though hee acknowledged the ſtile and priviledges of a Church in the New Teſtament to belong to a particular Congregation of viſible Saints: yet ſuch Nationall Churches, French or Dutch, as were governed by Presbyters, and ſeparate from the world at the Lords Table, he did not diſclaime Communion with them, I have beene given to underſtand, that when a Reverend and godly Scottiſh Miniſter came that way, (it ſeemeth to have been Mr. *Iohn Tarbes*) he offered him Communion at the Lords Table: though the other for feare of offence to the Scottiſh Churches at home, excuſed himſelfe. Yea when ſome Engliſh men that offered themſelves to become Members of his Church, would ſometimes in their confeſſions profeſſe their Separation from the Church of *England*, Mr. *Robinſon* would beare witneſſe againſt ſuch profeſſion: Avouching, they required

no

no such professions of Separation from this or that, or any Church, but onely from the world. All which doe argue, that his comming on to Protestant Churches, was more then the half way. "But (saith the Disswader) this new Doctrine (or way) of "Mr. *Robinson*, though it was destructive to his old Sect; yet it "became an occasion of a new one, not very good. It was the "womb and seed of that lamentable Independency in *Old* and "*New-England*, which hath been the fountain of many evils al-"ready though no more should ensue, as anon shall be declared.

Answ. When this commeth to be declared, I hope it will come to be declared also, that the way of Independency hath been bred in the womb of the New-Testament of the immortall seed of the Word of Truth, and received in the times of purest Primitive antiquity, many hundreths of years before M. *Robinson* was born: and that it hath not been the fountain of any evils at all, much lesse of such evils, as to deserve the style of lamentable Independency.

SECT. VI. *Of the contempt and contumelie said to be put upon the old Brownists by the Independents.*

TO shut up this Chapter, the Disswader telleth us, "That the "way of the old Brownists is become contemptible not "onely to all the rest of the world, but to their own children "also; even they begin to heap coals of contumelies upon their "Parents heads; as may be seen in the Elogies which both Mr. "*Cotton*, and the five Apologists are pleased to give them in "Print; yea, so much are these Children ashamed of their Fa-"thers, that they usually take it for a contumelie to be called af-"ter their name. No Independent will take it well at any mans "hand to be called a Brownist either in whole, or in the smal-"lest part.

Answ. 1. No marvail, if Independents take it ill to bee called Brownists, in whole, or in part. For neither in whole, nor in part doe we partake in his Schism. He separated from Churches and from Saints: we, onely from the world, and that which is of the world. He turned apostate from the Separation which he had professed: and it is absurd to denominate either Sect or right way, from such as apostate from it. If he had stood constant in his way, and his way had been the same with ours, yet we were

PART. I. not baptized into his Name; and why should we then be call ed after his Name? If schism be a manifest fruit of the flesh, then they that give Nick-names tending to the reproach and division of Brethren, they walk after the flesh; for they sow variance and schism amongst Brethren.

2. It is an unjust and unworthy calumny, to call either *Cotton* or the Apologers, the children of their Fathers, whom he styleth Brownists. They never begot us, either to God, or to the Church, or to their Schism: a Schism, which as we have lamented in them, (as a fruit of misguided ignorant zeal:) so we have ever born witnesse against it, since our first knowledg of it.

3. Though we put not such Honor upon those he calleth Brownists, as to own them for our Fathers; yet neither doe we put so much dishonor upon them, "as to heap coals of contu-"mely upon their heads. We look not at them with contempt, but compassion: Neither doe we bear witnesse against their Schism in any words of contempt and reproach, (which are the characters of contumelie) but in words of spirituall and just reproof; even in such terms, not which scornfull wit, but which holy Scripture suggesteth.

CHAP. III.

An answer to the Dissvaders 3 Chap. *touching the originall and progresse of the Independents in* New-England.

SECT. I.

Of the Title put upon us of {*A Sect, Independents.*

THe way of the Churches in *New-England* is neither justly called a Sect, nor fitly called Independency. Not a Sect; for we professe the Orthodox Doctrine of Faith, the same with all Protestant Churches; we celebrate the same Sacraments; and submit to the spirituall government of the same lawfull Guides, so farre as Christ and our own choyce hath set them over us. And though we doe not subject our selves to the Government of the Elders of other Churches, (as many great Churches doe;) yet we acknowledge and reverence such Churches in the Lord, as true

true Churches of Christ, and are willing to make use of their Brotherly counsell and help as need shall require. PART. I

And though we doe not open the doors of our Churches so wide, as to receive all the Inhabitants of a Nation, or of every Town, into the fellowship of our Churches; yet we doe not separate from such Protestant Churches as doe take that liberty: but onely we separate from the world, that is, from the worldly sort of them, who either live in open scandall, or at least doe not openly hold forth any spirituall discerning of the Lords Body, and are therefore unmeet to communicate at the Lord Table.

Nor is Independency a fit name of the way of our Churches. For in some respects it is too strait, and in others too large; it is too strait, in that it confineth us within our selves, and holdeth us forth as Independent from all others: whereas indeed we doe professe dependence upon Magistrates for civil Government and protection: Dependence upon Christ and his Word, for the soveraign government and rule of our administrations: Dependence upon the counsell of other Churches and Synods, when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of such help from them. And therefore this title of Independency straiteneth us, & restraineth us from our necessary duty, and due liberty.

Again, in other respects, Independency stretcheth it self too largely, and more generally, then that it can single out us. For it is compatible to a Nationall Church, as well as to a Congregationall. The Nationall Church of *Scotland* is Independent from the Government of the Nationall Church of *England*; and so is *England* Independent from *Scotland*. Nor is there any Sect at this day extant, but shrowdeth themselves under the title of Independency. The Antipædobaptists, Antinomians, Familists, yea, and the Seekers too, do all of them style themselves Independents. Nay, even the Pope himself, (who exalteth himself above all Civill and Church-power) yet even he also arrogateth the title of Independency; *Prima sedes à nemine judicatur*; that is, the Sea of *Rome* is Independent. Why then should Independency be appropriated to us, as a character of our way, which neither truly describeth us, nor faithfully distinguisheth us from many others? Wherefore if there must needs be some note of difference to decypher our estate, and to distinguish our way from a Nationall Church-way, I know none fitter, then to denominate theirs Classicall, and ours Congregationall.

PART I.

SECT. II. *Of the number of the Congregationall Regiment, and of the wisdome threaped upon them, in engaging Persons of note to them.*

The Disswader acknowledgeth, "We are not numerous, but "the fewest in number of the noted Sects, and not to consist of "above One thousand persons within the Lines of the Cities "Communication.

Answ. 1. If we be the fewest of noted Sects, it was sometime the lot of Gods *Israel* to be the fewest of all people, *Deut.* 7.7.

Answ. 2. If there be a thousand of our way within the Lines of the Cities Communication, I hope there want not divers more to be added to them in other parts of *England*, besides some thousands more in *New-England*. But it is not for us to follow *Davids* sinne in numbring the people of the Lord; onely the Lord increase their number an hundreth fold, (yea, a thousand fold) and make them as the stars of heaven for multitude.

But for the quality of the persons, the Disswader telleth us, "They have been so wise, as to engage to their party some of "chief note in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of "Divines, in the Army, in the City, and Countrey-Committees.

But in so saying, the Disswader putteth a dishonor both upon God, and upon those persons of chief note. It is a dishonor to God, to attribute that to the wisdome of man, which is the mighty and gracious work of the wisdome of God. And it is a dishonor to such men, to hold them forth as engaged to this way by the wisdome and industry of men, who have been well known (and some of them for many years) not to have engaged themselves or others any further, then the grace of Christ, and the conscience of his Word hath engaged them to doe and suffer, according to the will of God.

SECT. III. *Touching the Line of the Pedegree of the Independents in* New-England.

"The Separatists (saith the Disswader) were their Fathers. "This is demonstrable not onely by the consanguinity of their "Tenents, (the one having borrowed all their chief Doctrines "and

"and practises from the other:) but also by deduction of their Pedegree in this clear Line. Mr *Robinson* did derive his way to his Separate Congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did carry it over to *Plymmouth* in *New-England*: Here Mr. *Cotton* took it up, and did transmit it to Mr. *Goodwin*, who did helpe to propagate it to sundry others in *Old-England* first, and after to more in *Holland*; till now by many hands it is sown thick in divers parts of the Kingdom. PART I.

Answ. That the Separatists were our Fathers, we have justly denyed it above; seeing they neither begat us to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Schism. That we are (through grace) begotten to God, and to his Church, we received (many of us) from the blessing of Christ upon the Ministery of *England*. That we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity, we received from the Word of God by the help of the Non-conformists there. That we laid aside the Book of Common-prayer, we received from the serious meditation of the second Commandement, and not from the Writings of the Separatists, though they also had taken up the same Conclusion upon other premises. The particular visible Church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ames*: from whom also, (from two of them at least) we received light out of the Word, for the matter of the visible Church to be visible Saints; and for the Form of it, to be a mutuall Covenant, whether an explicite or implicite Profession of Faith, and subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the Church, or Presbytery thereof. And these be the chief Doctrines and practises of our way, so far as it differeth from other Reformed Churches. And having received these, not from the Separatists, but from the Lord Jesus, by gracious Saints, and faithfull witnesses of Jesus; the consanguinity of our Tenents with any the like found amongst the Separatists, will not demonstrate the Separatists to be our Fathers.

It is very likely (and by the fruits of some of them, it is very evident) that the Church of *Plymmouth* in *New-England* received very much light and life, by the blessing of Christ upon Mr. *Robinson* his Ministry, whilst he lived with them in *Holland*: nor need we to be ashamed, to learn any truth of God from him, or them, or from any other Saints of God, of farre meaner gifts, then he or they had

PART. I. had received. But I must confesse ingenuously, that his denyall of the Parishionall Congregations in *England* to be true Churches, (either by reason of their mixt and corrupt matter, or for defect in their Covenant, or for excesse of their Episcopall Government) was never received into any heart, from thence to inferre a nullity of their Church-estate. Neither was our departure from them even in those evill times, a Separation from them as no Churches, but rather a Secession from the corruptions found amongst them, unto which also we must have beene forced to conforme, even in our owne Practise through the Rigour of the times, unlesse wee had timely departed from them. In which case, Doctor *Ames* will excuse us (yea and the Holy Ghost also) from aspersion of schism or any other sin, in so doing, *De Conscientia, lib. 4. cap. 24. Numero 16. in Responsione 7. ad quæst. 3.*

The Disswader is mistaken (when he saith *Page 54.*) That "after the death of *Ainsworth*, there remained onely a small "handfull of Separatists at *Amsterdam*, and another small com-"pany at *Leyden*, under Mr. *Robinsons* Ministery, and besides them, "no other at that time were knowen in the world of that Re-"ligion.

For Mr. *Iacob*, whom Mr. *Lothrop* succeeded and after him Mr. *Barbon* being an Elder governed the same Separate Church in *Leyden* which held Communion with Mr. *Robinsons* Church, as appeareth by their Letters published in Print. And that Church as it began before Mr. *Robinson*, so it continued after him, and still doth. And it is no lesse a mistake, when the Disswader maketh the Di-"visions in Mr. *Robinsons* Church, or his desertion of many of "their Principles to be an occasion of well-neare bringing that "Church to nought: till some of them went over to *New-*"*England*, and perswaded their neighbours who sate down with "them in New-*Plymmouth* to erect with them a Congregation af-"ter their Separate way.

For the Church at *Leyden* was in peace, and free from any division, when they tooke up thoughts of transporting themselves into *America* with common consent. Themselves doe declare it, That the proposition of Removall, was set on foote and prosecuted by the Elders upon just and weighty grounds. For "(to use their owne words) though they did quietly and sweet-"ly enjoy their Christian & Church-liberties under the States: "yet they foresaw *Holland* would be no place for their Church,

and

"and their posterity to continue there comfortably: at least in "that measure, which they hoped to finde abroad, and that for "these reasons, which I shall recite, as I received them from "themselves.

"1. Because themselves were of a different language from the "Dutch where they lived, and the Dutch were setled in their "way; in so much that in ten yeares space, whilst their Church "sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform "the neglect of the Lords Day, or any other thing amisse a-"mongst them.

"2. Because their Countrey-men who came over to joyne "with them, by reason of the hardnesse, and chargeable-"nesse of the Countrey, soone spent their estates, and then were "forced either to returne backe for *England*, or to live very "meanely.

"3. Because the Countrey was a place of so great liberty "to children, that they could not educate their children, "as their Parents had educated them: nor could they give "them due correction, without reproof and reproach from their "Neighbours.

"4. Because their posterity would in a few generations be-"come Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English Nation, "name and language.

"These being debated at first in private, and thought weighty, "were afterwards propounded in publike, and after Solemne "Dayes of Humiliation both in publike and private, it was "agreed, that part of the Church should go before their Brethren "into *America* to prepare for the rest: And in case the major "part of the Church did choose to goe over with the first, then "the Pastor to goe along with them. But if the major part "stayed, then hee to stay with them: and to follow after-"wards, when they should heare out of *America* of their safe-"ty and health, and possibility of subsistence: But the Lord "translated him to himselfe, before the rest could prepare to "goe along to their Brethren. Notwithstanding when the "first company Embarqued themselves for *America*, their Bre-"thren accompanied them to the Sea, and tooke their leaves "with such abundant expressions of Brotherly Love, as drew the "neighbour Dutch to much observation, yea and some Admi-"ration of them, at *Delph-Shoven* in *Holland*. Their departure there-

PART I. therefore was not in a way of diviſion among themſelves, but with mutuall conſent, and common intendment of peaceable cohabitation.

Neither did that company which came over to *Plymmouth*, erect here a New-Church (as the Diſſwader taketh it,) for by conſent of the Church which they left, they came over in Church-eſtate, and onely renewed their Covenant when they came hither.

Neither did the Church of *Plymmouth* (as the Diſſwader reporteth them) incontinently leaven all the vicinity.

"For (as themſelves ſay) at the firſt comming there was no "vicinity of Chriſtian habitation. They came over in the yeare 1620. Mr. *Endicot*, (the Captaine with his Company) came not over till the yeare 1628. and ſat downe at *Salem*, 8. yeares after *Plymmouth*. The yeare following, Mr. *Skelton*, and Mr. *Higginſon* came over, and ſitting downe with Mr. *Endicot* at *Salem*, entered into a Church there. How far they of *Salem* tooke up any practice from them at *Plymmouth*, I doe not know: ſure I am, Mr. *Skelton* (their Paſtor) was ſtudious of that way, before he left *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire*.

Nor was there any other Church planted after *Salem* till Mr. *Winthrop*, and ſome other godly gentlemen, and many good Chriſtians came over together with Mr. *Wilſon*, and Mr. *Philips*, (Miniſters of the Word:) whereof the one gathered a Church at *Boſton*, the other at *Water-Towne*, in the yeare 1630. The next yeare followed Mr. *Eliot*, and the yeare after Mr. *Weld*, who gathered into a Church at *Rocksbury*, as old Mr. *Naveriek*, and Mr. *Warham* had done the ſame before at *Dorcheſter*.

It was in the yeare 1633. when Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Stone*, with my ſelf arrived in the ſame Ship together: and being come, we found ſeverall Churches gathered, and ſtanding in the ſame Order, and way, wherein they now walke: at *Salem*, at *Boſton*, at *Water-Towne*, at *Charle-Towne*, (which iſſued out of *Boſton*) at *Dorcheſter* and *Rocksbury*. So that the Diſſwader is much miſtaken, when hee ſaith, the Congregagation of *Plymouth* did incontinently leaven all the vicinity; ſeeing for many yeares there was no vicinity to bee leavened. And *Salem* it ſelfe that was gathered into Church-Order ſeven or eight yeares after them, was above 40. miles diſtant from them. And though it bee very likely, that

that some of the first commers might helpe their Theory by hearing and discerning their practice at *Plymmouth*: yet therein the Scripture is fulfilled, The Kingdome of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of Meal, till all was leavened, *Matth.*13.13. PART I.

But yet if the Disswader knew the spirit of those men who first came over hither, after *Plymmoth*, (though before us) hee would easily discern, they were not such as would be leavened by vicinity of neighbours, but by the Divinity of the Truth of God shining forth from the Word. The body of the people at that time was not of such a carnall spirit, as so many of them to leave so faire accommodations, and dear relations in our native Countrey, to come over into a wilderneſſe, to take up a Forme of Government, upon any such ground as the Disswader conceiteth, because it holdeth out so much liberty, and honour to the people.

This were indeed not to seek out for Liberty of Conscience, but Elbow-roomth of lust; and not to attend the honour, but the humor of the people. To passe such a judgment upon strangers, had need to arise from Divine Revelation, or else it will fall under the note of humane temerity.

"But (saith the Disswader) howsoever it was in a few years, "the most who setled their habitations in the Land, did agree to "modell themselves after *Robinsons* pattern.

Answ. I do not know, that they agreed upon it by any common consultation: But it is true, they did as if they had agreed (by the same Spirit of Truth and unity) set up (by the help of Christ) the same modell of Churches, one like to another. But whether it was after Mr. *Robinsons* pattern, is spoken *gratis*: for I beleeve most of them knew not what it was, if any at all. And if any did know it, the men were such, as were not wont to attend to the patterns of men in matters of Religion, (for against that many of them had suffered in our native Countrey) but to the pattern of the Scriptures.

SECT. 4. *Of* Cottons *pretended former dislike of the New-English way, and after closing with it.*

In pursuing this pedegree and descent of New-English Discipline, the Disswader is pleased to present mee to the world, to

PART. I. "be the first who appeared in displeasure against it, though afterwards to have fallen into a liking of it.

But how doth he make it appear, that I did appear in displeasure against it? His proof is from a private Letter of mine to Mr. *Skelton*, where I call it an error, (whether in Mr. *Skelton*, or some of his people) to conceive, that our Congregations in *England* are none of them particular Reformed Churches. Surely, if that be all the proof, I willingly acknowledge, I did appear against that Error. But neither was I the first that did appear against it, (but divers godly English Ministers before me:) neither have I fallen to the liking of the contrary opinion since.

But the Disswader is much deceived, if he take that Error to be the judgment of the Churches of *New-England*, howsoever some particular persons may lean that way.

Nor will it yee'd any better proof, that which he alledgeth out of my Preface to Mr. *Hildersons* Sermon upon *John*. For that which I there wrote, concerneth the way of the Rigid Separation, which renounceth the Churches of *England* as Antichristian, and the godly members thereof, as no visible Saints. Neither is my judgment altered at all in this Point to this day: which also I have lately maintained in my Reply unto Mr. *Williams* his Answer of my Letter, and in a Treatise concerning the Baptism of Children. And what I have written in this Point is suitable to the judgment of the Body of the Churches and Elders in *New-England*, and not at all repugnant to the way wherein we walk.

But I marvail, what should move the Disswader to report of "me, That though in *England* I fell off from the practise of "some Ceremonies, and but of some of them, and was distasted "with Episcopall Government: yet so long as I abode in "*England*, I minded no more then the Old Non-conformity: For in this one sentence he giveth a double misreport of me.

"First, that in *England* I fell off but from some of the Ceremonies. For (by the grace of Christ) I forbore all the Ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left *England*. The first grounds which prevailed with me to forbear one Ceremony, would not allow me to practise any. The grounds I well remember were two: 1 The significancy and efficacy put upon them in the Preface to the Book of Common-prayer: "That they "were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull minde "of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some no-

"table

" table and ſpeciall ſignification, whereby he may bee edified, PART. I.
or words to the like purpoſe.

The ſecond was the limitation of Church-power, (even of the higheſt Apoſtolicall Commiſſion) to the obſervation of the Commandements of Chriſt, *Matth.* 28. 20. which made it appear to me utterly unlawfull, for any Church-power to enjoyn the obſervation of indifferent Ceremonies which Chriſt had not commanded. And all the Ceremonies were alike deſtitute of the commandement of Chriſt, though they had been indifferent otherwiſe, which indeed others have juſtly pleaded they were not.

What favor I was offered not onely for connivence, but for preferment, if I would have conformed to any one of the Ceremonies, I forbear to mention. Yea, when I was ſuſpended upon ſpeciall complaint made againſt me to the King that then was, and all hope of reſtitution denyed to me, without yeelding to ſome conformity, at leaſt in one Ceremony at leaſt once; yet the good hand of the Lord ſo kept me, that I durſt not buy my Miniſtery ſo dear: And yet (I thank the Lord) my Miniſtery was dearer to me (to ſpeak the leaſt) then any preferment.

When the Biſhop of Lincoln-Dioceſſe (Dr. *Mountaigne*) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him the next Lords-day after: or elſe to give ſome reaſon, why (in conſcience I could not) unto Dr. *Davenant* (then Biſhop-elect of *Salisbury*, who was at that time preſent with him at *Weſtminſter*) I durſt not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling; but I gave them this reaſon for my excuſe and defence,

Cultus non inſtitutus, non eſt acceptus:
Genuflexio in perceptione Euchariſtiæ eſt cultus non inſtitutus;
Ergo, non eſt acceptus.

The ſecond miſreport which the Diſſwader maketh of me in his former ſentence, is, " That howſoever when I was in *Eng-*
" *land*, I was then diſtaſted with Epiſcopall Government; yet ſo
" long as I abode in *England*, I minded no more then the Old
" Non-conformity.

I paſſe by his unſavory metaphor of my diſtaſte of Epiſcopall Government. Conſcientious judgment in matters of Religion is not led by taſte or diſtaſte: will he ſay, that both the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* have aboliſhed Epiſcopall Government upon a diſtaſte?

PART I. But when he saith, "I minded no more then the Old Non-
"Conformity whilst I abode in *England*, he must be more privie to my mind then any mortall man is, and then my self too, to make it good. There were some scores of godly persons in *Boston* in *Lincoln-shire*, (whereof some are there still, and some here, and some are fallen asleep) who can witnesse, that we entred into a Covenant with the Lord, and one with another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his Worship; which though it was defective, yet it was more then the Old Non-conformity. Besides, I had then learned of Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Baynes*, (and soon after of Dr. *Ames*) that the Ministers of Christ, and the Keyes of the Government of his Church are given to each particular Congregationall Church respectively: And therefore neither Ministers nor Congregations subject to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of Cathedrall Churches, no, nor of Classicall Assemblies neither, but by voluntary consociation, and that in some cases; and those falling short of that which is properly called subjection to their Jurisdiction. Which made mee then to mind not onely a neglect of the censures of Commissary Courts, (which bred not a little offence to them, and disturbance to my self) but also to breath after greater liberty and purity not onely of Gods Worship, but of Church estate. But suppose that I had then minded no more then the Old way of Non-conformity: yet the experience of the Godly will easily acknowledge, that the way of the Lord is light and strength to the upright, and giveth more and more understanding and enlargement to them that walk in it.

Nay, the Disswaders own words might convince him, that I minded more then the Old Non-conformity, whilst I abode in *England*. "For if Mr. *Cotton*, and those Brethren who went
"along with me, came over to *New-England*, to joyn our selves
"with those *American* Churches, (as he saith) it argueth plainly we did not upon our coming hither, goe contrary to our former judgment, and fall into a liking of this way. For then we would never have taken so long and hazardous a voyage to joyn to Churches, whose way was contrary to our judgments all the while of our abode in *England*. Rationall charity would conceive, that Christian men, who chose rather to forfeit our Ministery, and maintenance, and all our dear relations in our native Countrey, then to submit to a course contrary to our judg-

ments,

ments, would never transport our selves to *America*, to run a contrary course to our judgments in a land of liberty. But thus in heat of pursuit of an adversary (whether cause or person) men wil not stick to suffer their tongues and pens to run over, though for haste one word interfere with another. PART I.

SECT. V. *Of the pretended danger of the New-English way unto the world, after* Cotton *and others closing with it.*

But to proceed, why should the Disswader conceive, That our "coming over into these parts, and joyning with these *American* Churches, should cause this New-way (as he calleth it) "to begin to grow dangerous to the rest of the world?

To which world (I pray you) hath this way grown dangerous? to the Christian world? or to the Antichristian world? or to the Pagan world?

The Pagan world of Indians here will acknowledg our sitting down by them, hath prevented the danger either of their dissolution or servitude. For the Indians in these parts being by the hand of God swept away (many multitudes of them) by the Plague, the manner of the Neighbor-Indians is either to destroy the weaker Countreys, or to make them Tributary: which danger ready to fall upon their heads in these parts, the coming of the English hither prevented. And of late (through the grace of Christ) one of our fellow-Elders, Mr. *Eliot*, Teacher of *Rocksbury*, having gotten the knowledg of the Indian language preacheth to them every week: one week to one Congregation on the fourth day, to the other on the sixt the week following. And to him they willingly give eare, and reform their vicious living according to his Doctrine; and some of them offer themselves to be trained up in English Families, and in our Schools: and there be of them that give good hope of coming on to the acknowledgment of the grace of Christ. To them therefore our way is not dangerous.

To the Antichristian world, the more dangerous it is; I doubt not, it is the more acceptable to God, and I hope, it is not the lesse safe in Mr. *Baylie*'s eye. Some of the Jesuites at *Liborn*, and others in the Western Islands have professed to some of our Merchants and Mariners, they look at our Plantations, (and at some

PART. I. of us by name) as dangerous supplanters of the Catholick cause. If that be the greatest danger, I presume Mr. *Baylie* will not *ab hoc dicto secundum quid*, pronounce us dangerous (*simpliciter*) to the rest of the world.

To the Christian world, what danger hath accrewed by our means? many that knew both our Magistrates and Elders, and the chief sort of our people, and knew how little we affected to travell into foraign Countreys to see fashions; they upon our departure grew more inquisitive into the cause of our voluntary exile; and thereupon, more jealous of corruptions at home in the Worship of God, and in Church-Discipline; more sensible of the burden and danger of Episcopall tyranny, and consequently more ready to follow the good example of the Churches and Commonwealth of *Scotland*, in rejecting and shaking off Episcopall usurpations and intrusions of Liturgies. And hath this been so dangerous to the rest of the world?

Besides, if Books and Letters doe not delude us with false intelligence, the great salvation, and glorious Victories which the Lord hath wrought for *England* these late years by any English power, his own right hand hath brought to passe chiefly by such despised instruments as are sirnamed Independents. And are then the witnesses of that way so dangerous to the rest of the world?

Wherein then lyeth the danger of this way?

It seemeth the Disswader conceiveth (as some others have done) that this way hath bin a double danger to those Churches: 1 In becomming a dangerous inlet to all kinde of Sects, who shrowd themselves under the name of Independents, and claim impunity under their shadow. 2 In retarding the establishment and free passage of the work of Reformation.

But for the former, if the devill come and sow Tares, yea Bryars and Thornes, where Christ hath sowen Wheate, is therefore the wheate a dangerous graine? And if thereupon not onely tares, but bryers and thornes plead for freedome from eradication, must therefore the wheat be plucked up, to root out the rest? Surely the way which is practised in *New-England* cannot justly be taxed for too much connivence to all kinde of Sects: wee here doe rather heare ill for too much rigour, which evidently argueth, our way is of it selfe no inlet at all to all kinde of Sects, unlesse it be meerely by accident: as Christianity hath been

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an inlet to all kinds of hereſie; for where there is no Chriſtianity, PART. I.
there is no hereſie.

As for the latter, the retarding of the worke of Reformation; Surely we find it here the readieſt way to a ſpeedy Reformation. The commond diſorders obvious and ordinary in other Plantations are here either not found, or ſoone Reformed. The Retarding of Reformation in *England* ſpringeth rather, partly from ſuch as would have no Reformation at all, but affect elbow-roomth to their owne luſts: partly from ſuch as will have no Reformation, but in their owne way. But if it might pleaſe the Lord to bow the hearts, both of the Presbyterians, and of the Congregationalls, ſo farre as both of them are come, to walke by the ſame rule, and minde the ſame thing, (both of them to minde Reformation according to the rule of the Word, as they conceive it; both of them to redreſſe abuſes, the Presbyterians, the abuſes found in their Churches, and the Congregationalls in theirs,) doubtleſſe, it need not to bee feared the worke of Reformation will ſpeedily find (by the bleſſing of Chriſt) a free and mighty paſſage throughout the three Kingdomes.

SECT. 6. *Of* Cottons *pretended miſleading* { Mr. *Davenport* / Mr. *Goodwin*.

If it be true which the Diſſwader relateth from Mr. *Edwards*, *Page* 56.
"that before my departure from *England*, I had by conference in "*London* brought off Mr. *Davenport*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, from ſome "of the Engliſh Ceremonies.

Why doth he note me in his margent to be a Miſleader of Mr. *Goodwin* and others? Is it a miſleading to lead men away from the Engliſh Ceremonies? Were they Miſleaders, who led the Honorable Houſes of Parliament to fall off from the Ceremonies? Or did the Parliament miſlead the people of *England* to the diſuſe of them?

But Mr. *Baylie* knoweth not Mr. *Davenport*, nor Mr. *Goodwin*, if hee thinke the ableſt Divines in Chriſtendome, much leſſe ſuch a poore weake thing as my ſelfe could bring them off to forſake their publike Miniſtery, wherein they were notable inſtruments of good ſervice to God and man, unleſſe they ſaw the light of the Word and Spirit of Grace to goe before them in ſuch wayes. Virgin-ſoules are wont to follow the Lambe, whereſoever hee goeth (*Rev.* 14. 4.) And the Sonnes of God are led by the Spirit of

PART I. of God, (*Rom.*8.14.) And therefore let Mr. *Baylie* be intreated not so much to undervalue his holy Brethren, as to think they were rather misled by me, then led by the Spirit and Word of Grace in their own judgments and consciences. It is true, Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. *Goodwin*, with some other godly Brethren had some conference with me at *London*, about the cause of my sufferings, and of my purpose to leave the Land; which they said, they desired the rather, because they did not look at mee as a passionate man, though the Diſſwader (who knoweth me not) be pleased so to represent me to the world in this Paragraph. And upon their motion two Points were chiefely debated: 1. Touching the limitation of Church-power, to matters of commandement, not of indifferency, (which I touched before.) The 2. touching the office of Bishops, whether the Scripture Bishops bee appointed to rule a Diocesse, or a particular Congregation. Now both these being agreed upon amongst us, Mr. *Edwards* is much mistaken, and Mr. *Baylie* too, when they say, that neither Mr. *Davenport*, nor Mr. *Goodwin*, nor my selfe did mind any further then the leaving of some few ceremonies. For grant the former principle, of the limitation of Church-Power to matters of Commandement, and all the Ceremonies must bee left off at once. And grant the latter, touching the limitation of Bishops to a particular Congregation; and it will necessarily inferre an unavoydable Separation from under the shadow of Diocesan-Episcopall-Government.

Besides, presently after, I received Letters from Mr. *Goodwin*, (and as I take it, before I left *England*) signifying, that as in our "former conferences, wee had debated much of the negative part "of the 2. Commandement, so hee had since meditated much, "and seriously of the affirmative part of it, the positive institu-"tions of Gods Divine Worship in opposition to humane inventions. Whereby I plainely discerned, (*England* as the State of it stood then) could not hold him long. It is an usuall thing with God, in times of Reformation to enlighten his Servants, though farre distant one from another, with the same beams of light of Divine Truth, which the world interpreteth, they have learned one from another: but indeed all from the same Spirit, who distributeth to every one, even as he will. But whether Mr. *Davenport*, and Mr. *Goodwin* received ought from me, I doe not know, sure I am, I have received much from them. The members of the Body

Body of Christ, are wont to minister supply one to another, according to the effectuall working of the Spirit of Grace in every part, to the mutuall edifying of themselves, and of the whole Body in Love, *Ephes.* 4. 16. And why should mutuall edification be made a matter of exprobration? PART I.

SECT. 7. *Of* Cottons *pretended sudden change to the passionate affecting of the New-English way, and the conversion of Mr.* Goodwin *to it.*

It seemeth to me a strange speech of the Disswader, and as far from Truth, as from ingenuity, "that assoon as I had tasted of the "New English aire, I fell into a passionate affection with the Re- "ligion I found there.

For I knew their Religion before I came into *New-England*, and himself said above, that I came with a purpose to joyn with their Churches: Which argueth, *I did not fall into an affection to their Religion, by tasting of New-English Aire.* Nor hath his speech any reasonable construction, that with *tasting the new English aire, I soon fell into a passionate affection to their Religion, unlesse he take me for one of those children, who are tossed to and fro, and carryed about with every winde (or aire) of doctrine, Ephes.* 4. 14. Nor doe I yet understand why he should account the Religion of *New-England* another Religion, then that of *England* and *Scotland* and other Reformed Churches. Difference in some externall form of Church administrations is not wont in the writings of judicious Divines, to make up the note and name of a different Religion.

Neither can I imagine what should move him to say, that I "fell into a passionate affection with the Religion here. A passionate affection, is a strong, yea a violent, and inordinate affection. Did the Disswader ever reade, or hear me, to expresse any such violent or inordinate affection to the Religion here professed?

How Mr. *Goodwin* cometh to be accounted, and called of the Disswader, my Convert, I doe not know. It is not good to take liberty to use Scripture Idioms, but in Scripture sense. The Scripture speaketh not of conversion, but in the sense of Regeneration begun, or renewed: neither doth it style one man, another mans Convert, but reserveth that solely and solidly to the Lord.

PART I. But I marvail why the Diſſwader ſhould ſay, "That M. *Goodwin* with little adoe was brought by my Letters from *New-England* to follow in this ſtep of my progreſſe.

For firſt, I doe not remember that ever I wrote Letter to him from *New-England* about our way. And my Letter, which Mr. *Baylie* quoteth amongſt his Teſtimonies (in *G*) was not written to him, but to a brother of mine (by Mariage) in *Boſton*. Men that have been bred and brought up under a form of Doctrine, or Worſhip, or Government, and never ſaw ground to ſcruple it, they may with little adoe receive it, and embrace, and follow it: which, it may be, hath been the caſe of many thouſands in *England*, and uſually falleth out in ſetled Churches. But for M. *Goodwin* to take up a way not onely contrary to that wherein he hath been bred and brought up, but alſo diſcrepant from the judgements of ſo many godly learned Brethren, to the hazzard of his Miniſtery, and to the ſmothering of himſelf in a cloud of calumny and obloquy, beleeve it who will, I cannot eaſily beleeve it, that he took up ſuch a way with very little adoe. I cannot but beleeve, it coſt him many prayers, and ſighs, and grones, much ſtudy, meditation, and conference, before he could ſatisfie himſelf in ſuch a courſe; He being eſpecially (as Mr. *Baylie* reporteth him) a man of a fine and dainty Spirit, (and therefore loving and tender:) to which ſort of men, it is moſt unwelcome to offend Reverend Brethren by diſſenting from them: and with whom it is moſt uſuall to ſuſpect their own judgments and wayes, when they goe alone. *Luther* was not accounted a man of a fine and dainty ſpirit, but of a more reſolute and ſtern temper; and yet it was no ſmall temptation even to him. "*Nunquid tu ſolus ſapis? Quoties mihi palpitavit tremulum Cor, & reprehendens objecit "fortiſſimum illud argumentum, Tu ſolus ſapis? tótne errant univerſi? &c. Luther. in Præfat. de Abroganda Miſſa privata, &c.*

Mr. *Edwards* his Antapology, I have not had the opportunity to come by, much leſſe to read: and therefore I cannot tell what ſenſe to make of thoſe words which Mr. *Baylie* quoteth out of him (in *H*:) and wherein he ſaith, "Mr. *Goodwin* was bold to "boaſt of me in terms beyond the bounds of moderation. Sure I am, Mr. *Goodwin* was not wont to be accounted, either a bold man, or a boaſter. I have many years known him and his modeſty, and abhorrency both from boldneſſe and boaſting: and if Mr. *Baylie* take up a report to the contrary from Mr. *Edwards* (who

(who is but one witneſſe, and it may be prejudiced) I dare not follow Mr. *Baylie* herein, but muſt allow Mr. *Goodwin* the priviledge of an Elder, againſt whom no accuſation is to be received under two or three witneſſes, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. By what rule therefore Mr. *Baylie* receiveth this teſtimony againſt Mr. *Goodwin*, by one ſingle witneſſe, he may doe well to conſider. Sure I am, it agreeth not with the Rules either of Congregationall or Claſſicall Church-government. PART I.

But if Mr. *Goodwin* himſelf doe acknowledge ſuch a ſpeech, he knoweth beſt in what ſenſe he ſpake it. For my ſelf, I can own it onely in the ſame ſenſe wherein *Agur* ſpake it of himſelf, *Prov.* 30.2,3. *Surely I am more brutiſh then man; I have not the underſtanding of a man: I have not learned wiſdome, nor know the holy.*

The next teſtimony which Mr. *Baylie* quoteth out of Mr. *Edwards* to the ſame purpoſe, ſpeaketh not of Mr. *Goodwin*, but of ſome other whom Mr. *Edwards* nameth not. But ſuch Apocrypha teſtimonies with judicious and equall mindes, will never goe for authenticall evidences. For the matter of the teſtimony it ſelf, I conceive, the form of Church-government wherein we walk doth not differ in ſubſtance from that which Mr. *Cartwright* pleaded for. For two things chiefly there be wherein ſuch as are for a Congregationall way, do ſeem to differ from Presbyterians: 1 In the matter of their Churches; they would have none allowed but viſible Saints. 2 In the exerciſe of Church-cenſure, they leave that power to the Elders and Brethren of the ſame Church whereof the delinquent is a member. And in both theſe we find Mr. *Cartwright*'s footſteps going plainly before us. For, 1. he taxeth in Biſhop *Whitgift*, that ſpeech of his; "The Church "is full of Drunkards and Whoremongers, &c. Whereas Mr. *Cartwright* would not have ſcandalous perſons born withall in the Church. And for the 2. he ſpeaketh fully, in 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. "Foraſmuch (ſaith he) as the Apoſtle reproveth the Church of "*Corinth*, for that they had not (before his Letters) excommu-"nicated the Inceſtuous; It is evident that the Miniſters, and the "reſt of the Church there had power and authority thereunto.

The next Teſtimony which Mr. *Baylie* alledgeth to prove Mr. *Goodwin*'s boaſting of this new light (as he calleth it) beyond the lines of moderation, is from the words of Mr. *Williams* in his examination of a letter of mine. His words be, "That ſome "of the moſt eminent amongſt them have affirmed, That even

PART I. " the Apostles Churches were not so pure as the New-English. Churches.

But what is this to M. *Goodwin*? M. *Williams* speaketh of some of the most eminent in *New-England*, where Mr. *Goodwin* never came.

Besides, Mr. *Williams* doth not ascribe these words to any definite persons in *New-England*. And, as I said before, Apocrypha testimonies will never goe with equall mindes for authenticall evidences. It is no new thing for Mr. *Williams* to mistake both himself and others, as hath appeared in the Reply both to his examination of that Letter, and to his *Bloody Tenent*. I never heard of any mans speech in *New-England* so hyperbolicall in the praise of *New-English* Churches, nor coming nearer to the words in hand, then the words reported of Mr. *Williams* himself: *That of all the Churches in the world, the Churches of* New-England *were the most pure, and of all* New-English *Churches, Salem* (whereof himself was Teacher) *was the purest*. But such arrogant comparisons are as smoke in Gods nostrils, *Esay* 65 5. the first born of vanity, and the first step to apostasie.

SECT. VIII. *Of* Cottons *pretended rashnesse in the change of his mind in latter and former times.*

Mr. *Baylie* proceedeth, and telleth us, " It had been happy for " *England*, that Mr. *Cotton* had taken longer time for deliberation, before that change of his minde. He might have remembred his too precipitant rashnesse in former times, both to receive, and to send abroad to the world such Tenents, whereof after he had cause to repent.

I should think my self a most unhappy man, if *England* should be the lesse happy for my sake. Mr. *Baylie* doth either undervalue *England*, or overvalue me; if he think the happinesse or unhappinesse of *England* doth stand or fall upon any deliberate or precipitate act of mine.

But what think ye, was that rash and precipitate act of mine, which hath impeached the happinesse of *England*? It was, saith he, that change of my minde. What change was that? That which I mention in a Letter to some friends in *Boston*, " That if I were with them again, I durst not take that liberty which sometimes I had done: I durst not joyn in Book-prayers: I durst not now partake in the Sacrament with you: to wit, in respect

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" of those scandalous persons who communicate with you, and PART I.
" will settle upon their Lees with the more security by your fel-
" lowship with them.

I doe remember such a Letter I wrote; whether to one or moe in *Boston*, I remember not: Some say it is printed, but I know not, nor have I seen it: But I take the contents as Mr. *Baylie* reporteth them. And concerning them, I durst appeal even to Mr. *Baylie* himself, (though a stranger to me, and professing opposition) yet let him speak in good earnest, whether if I had taken longer time of deliberation even to this day, I should not have found just cause to have changed my minde, as I then did? Did I change my minde then to any other judgment or practice, then what the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and the Honorable Houses of Parliament have found (by the grace given to them) to be the Truth, and by Publick consent approved, and by Publick authority established? And doth he think, that it had been happy for *England*, if the Parliament and Assembly had neither of them changed their mindes, but still retained Book-service, and admitted scandalous persons to the Lords Table? How shall a poor Christian doe to satisfie his Brethren, that are not satisfied with their own judgment and wayes; if he be of the same judgment, or speak the same thing with them? verily, it is not good in Gods sight (but even an abomination to him) to keep a weight and a weight, a measure and a measure: to judge the same act in themselves to be weighty, which in others they judge to be light and rash. But the comfort is, the righteous God judgeth righteously, not according to acceptance of persons, but according to Truth; and accepteth the work of his own Spirit of Truth and Grace wheresoever he findeth it.

As for my too precipitant rashnesse in former times, which he he is pleased to remember me of, let him be pleased to forbear his censure a while, till I may give account thereof to Reverend Doctor *Twisse*. In the mean time let him know, that those Tenents which he saith I sent abroad to the world, whereof I had cause after to repent, I neither sent them abroad to the world, (but wrote them privately for the satisfaction of a neighbor Minister) nor do I yet know, whether I have cause to repent of them or no, it being neer thirty years ago since I wrote them, and many years ago since I read them.

But in the mean time, let Mr. *Baylie* be pleased to understand,

PART I. that I came hither in *September* in the year 1633. and that letter of mine which I sent to *Boston*, was dated (as himself q noteth) in *October*, 1635. And lastly to write my Opinion of such a cale, which I had considered of for the space of two whole years, doth not seem to be a rash and precipitate act: Nor can it be said with truth, "That I did incontinent perswade to the *New-*"*English* way, as soon as I had tasted of the *New-English* aire. Two whole years and more, giveth a man more than a taste of *New-English* aire; nor is that an act done incontinently, which is done upon two years deliberation.

SECT. IX. *Of* COTTONS *pretended known failings, and Mr.* BAYLIES *pretended just cause to discover them to the world.*

Mr. *Baylie* proceedeth to discover my evident and known "failings, (as he calleth them) and he conceiveth neither piety "nor charity will hinder him to remark them. And why do? me thinks it should be some great and weighty cause, that himself, "who is wont (as he saith) to speak liberally to the praises of "men, who in his thoughts are much inferior to Mr. *Cotton*, should now give up himself to speak liberally to the dispraise and disgrace of him, whom yet in his entrance thereinto he termeth to reckon amongst such as he calleth the dear children of God. Surely there is not the least child of God, but is ordained of God to be a vessel of honour; and to make any such a vessel of dishonour, what is it else but to endevour to ow-throw the eternall counsell of God? Nor is there the least child of God, but is a member of the Body of Christ; and the nearest member of the Body are wont to cover the nakednesse of such members as are most uncomely.

But Mr. *Baylie* is of opinion, as he saith, that when my gifts are "turned into snares, and made inducements to others to follow "me in my wandlings, then the discovery of my cleare weaknesse "may be a restrictive to every Prudent man, & a caveat from God, "to beware of my wayes. Belike then it will follow, that though it be contrary both to the counsell and Commandement of God, and to the Communion of his Mysticall Body, to cast reproaches and dishonour upon the least of Gods servants: yet for a good end

end, to keep others from idolizing of them, it may be lawfull to ransack all their former lives, and to hang them up in the sight of the Sun, in chains of publike infamy, and obloquy. But I confesse, I have not so learned Christ, as to allow my self to doe evill that good may come of it. Nor doe I beleeve it had been a way of God, when the men of *Lystra* so highly Idolized *Paul* and *Barnabas*, as to account one of them to be *Jupiter*, and the other *Mercurius*, and to present them with Divine Worship, that then some godly brother of *Pauls* company should have stept in amongst them, and said, Sirs, why doe you these things? *Paul* hath been a bloody persecutor of the Truths of God, a Blasphemer, a scornfull oppressor: and *Barnabas* is a man subject to passion and dissimulation, and both of them mortall men, subject to all kind of unfull corruption. Such zeale for the glory of God, I know not by what rule of piety or charity, it could have been justified. God hath sanctified other means, to wean his servants from idolizing their Brethren. *Cornelius* idolized *Peter* even with Divine honour, *Act.* 10.25. But did *Peter* therefore, or any of the 6. Brethren that went along with him, think it a just warrant, to proclaim to *Cornel.* Take heed what you do, this man whom you idolize hath been a lyer, a perjured person, an horrible curser of himself, and renouncer of the Lord Jesus before many witnesses? God forbid. Yea of latter times, when the pregnant strength and glorious lustre of many heroicall and excellent gifts of *Luther* had bin so idolized, that many and great Nations followed him in some notorious errors of his way: yet *Calvin* thought it no just ground, why *Bullinger* or other Divines should break forth against him, as he had done (*atroci invectiva*, to use *Calvins* word) against them, but sweetly professeth, *Sæpe dicere solitus sum, etiamsi me Diabolum vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Die servum agnoscam*: *Calvin. Ep.* 57. *ad Bullingerum.* The want of this spirit is *Fundi Anglicani calamitas*, the unhappinesse of *England* at this day. But what if all these heresies or errors, which Mr. *Baylie* chargeth upon me, be but so many errors of himself, or of his witnesses? Will he still make it an act of piety, or charity to remarke them (as he calleth it) for my evident and known failings, and follies: which are either no failings, nor follies at all, or none of mine?

PART I.

Let

PART I. Let us examine the particulars.

SECT. X. *of* Cottons *Prelaticall Tenents.*

"1. He inſtanceth in the Errors of my education, and my "long continuance in them: ſundry of them (as he ſaith) I "confeſſe ſtuck by me all the time of my abode in *England*.

And this he proveth from the teſtimony of mine own Letter (above mentioned) from *New-England* to my friends at *Boſton*, "*October* 5. 1635. As joyning in Book-prayers and fellowſhip "at the Lords Table with ſcandalous Communicants. It was but in the next foregoing *Page*, (*pag.* 56. of Mr. *Baylie*'s Book) wherein he maketh it the unhappineſſe of *England*, that I changed my minde from thoſe very Tenents, which he now calleth the Errors of my education, and Prelaticall Tenents? But if they be Errors, why doth he tax me for changing from them? And why doth he ſay, "It had been happy for *England*, if Mr. *Cot-* "*ton* had taken longer time, before he had changed his minde "from ſuch Tenents? Let Mr. *Baylie* chooſe which he will take; either theſe are no Errors nor Prelaticall Tenents; or if they were, it was no Error in me, nor unhappineſſe to *England* that I changed from them. A conſiderate and equall minde ſhould not be ſo far tranſported *ſtudio partium*; nor ſo ſoon forget it ſelf, as to cenſure it in one *Page* for an unhappy change from ſuch Tenents, which in the next *Page* he noteth for Erroneous and Prelaticall Tenents.

SECT. XI. *of* Cottons *pretended Pelagianiſm and Arminian Errors.*

2. My next Error, he calleth, "My more dangerous fall in- "to the gulf of Pelagianiſm, ſome of the Arminian Errors. I did expect, he would have named what thoſe Pelagian or Arminian Errors had been. But for that, he referreth me to the Antapology, a Book which I doe not know that ever I have ſeen. Sure I am, I have often aſſayed to get, but cannot yet procure it. The teſtimony which Mr *Baylie* quoteth out of it, referreth me to the Preface of Dr. *Twiſſe* his Anſwer. I have read his Preface, wherein I finde no particular Tenents of mine expreſſed as Erroneous. But this teſtimony he is pleaſed to give me, (which might

might somewhat allay the harshnesse of the scandall of my fall into the gulf of Pelagianism and Arminianism:) "Mr. *Cotton* "(saith he) as I have heard, is very sound and orthodox in the "Point of Election: and cometh to this work with a gracious intent to clear the Doctrine of Predestination, (and that, "in the particular of Reprobation) from such harsh consequences as seemeth to be derived from thence. PART I.

Dr. *Twisse* doth indeed truly expresse that which (through grace) was my true intent, to clear the Orthodox Doctrine of Predestination from such harsh consequences, as are wonted to be derived from absolute Reprobation. For when I was first called to *Boston* in *Lincoln-shire*, so it was, that Mr. Doctor *Baron*, son of Dr. *Baron*, (the Divinity Reader at *Cambridge*) who in his Lectures there, first broched that which was then called Lutheranism, since Arminianism:) this Dr. *Baron*, I say, had leavened many of the chief men of the Town with Arminianism; as being indeed himself learned, acute, plausible in discourse, and fit to insinuate into the hearts of his Neighbors. And though he was a Physitian by profession, (and of good skill in that art:) yet he spent the greatest strength of his studies in clearing and promoting the Arminian Tenents. Whence it came to passe, that in all the great Feasts of the Town, the chiefest Discourse at Table did ordinarily fall upon Arminian Points, to the great offence of the Godly Ministers both in *Boston*, and Neighbor-Towns. I coming amongst them a yong man, (as having gone to *Cambridge* in the beginning of the 13th year of my age, and tarrying there not above 14 years in all, before I was sent for to *Boston*:) I thought it a part both of modesty and prudence, not to speak much to the Points, at the first, amongst Strangers and Ancients: untill afterwards, after hearing of many Discourses in Publick meetings, and much private conference with the Doctor, I had learned at length where all the great strength of the Doctor lay. And then observing (by the helpe of Christ) how to avoid such expressions, as gave him any advantage in the expressions of others, I then began publickly to Preach, and in private Meetings to defend the Doctrine of Gods eternall Election before all foresight of good or evil in the Creature: and the Redemption (*ex gratiâ*) only of the Elect: the effectuall vocation of a Sinner *per irresistibilem gratiæ vim*, without all respect of the preparations of Free will: And finally, the impossibility of the fal of a sincere

PART I. cere Believer either totally or finally from the estate of grace. Hereupon, when the Doctor had objected many things, and heard my answers to those scruples which he was wont most plausibly to urge; presently after, our publick Feasts and neighborly meetings, were silent from all further debates about Predestination, or any of the Points which depend thereon, and all matters of Religion were carryed on calmly and peaceably. Insomuch, that when God opened mine eyes to see the sin of conformity, (which was soon after:) my neglect of conformity was at first tolerated without disturbance, and at length embraced in practise by the chief and greatest part of the Town. But so it fell out, that a neighbor Minister dwelling about 16 miles off (and my very loving friend) hearing of some Answers of mine tending to clear the Doctrine of Reprobation against the exceptions of Dr. *Sam*, he seemed not to be satisfied therewith, but wrote to me seven or eight Questions about the same; whereto I willingly gave him such Answers as then came to hand, and that soon after the receipt of his Questions, which is now long since, about 30 years agoe. Little did I think, that a private Letter of mine written to a very friend, should ever have been divulged abroad. But it seemeth some got Copies of it; and in processe of time, one Copy multiplyed another, till at length it came to Dr. *Twiss* his hand. None of his Writings against *Arminius* or his followers had been then published: but he was then (by the report which went of him) of such high esteem with me, as I wrote him a thankfull Letter for the pains I heard he had taken in examining my Answer to *Mr. Pols* Queries: (for that was the neighbor Ministers name who sent them to me;) and desired from him leave to see the copy of his Answer. He lovingly granted it, onely with desire after a time to return his *Antigraph*: yet after that having got himself another Copy, he sent me word, he was content I should keep his. Whereupon I took it with me to *New-England*; but since my coming hither have found such constant diversion from such Contemplative Controversies, to attend Practicall, that I have not to this day been able to perpend the Doctors Answer, which I see is now Printed: I hope, God will give me opportunity ere long (after two or three other Treatises perused) to consider of this his labor of Love. I bless the Lord, who hath taught me to be willing to be taught of a farre meaner Disciple then such a Doctor, whose Scholasticall

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acuteneſſe, pregnancy of wit, ſolidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all Orthodox Divines doe highly honor, and whom all Arminians and Jeſuites doe fall down before with ſilence. God forbid I ſhould ſhut mine eys againſt any light brought to me by him. Onely I deſire I may not be condemned as a Pelagian or Arminian, before I be heard, or be found more ſlow in retracting an Error, then in diſcerning it. PART I.

SECT. XII. *Of* Cottons *pretended Montaniſm.*

3. The next Error which Mr. *Baylie* is pleaſed to threape upon me is my old Montaniſm, which he ſaith, he hath heard "from ſome gracious Miniſters; and wherein ſome think I remain to this day.

Who thoſe gracious Miniſters are from whom he heard this, he doth not mention; nor what this old Montaniſm of mine ſhould be, he doth not expreſſe. But thus I muſt ſtand guilty in Mr. *Baylie*'s judgment, and by his relation, in the judgment of all men that give credit to his teſtimony, of an horrible Hereſie, but I muſt not know what; and by the accuſation of gracious Miniſters, but I muſt not know whom.

Auguſtine recordeth (in his Catalogue of Hereſies) *Chap.* 26. the Hereſies of *Montanus* to be: "1. That *Montanus* and his "two harlot-Propheteſſes, *Priſca* and *Maximilla*, had received "the Holy-Ghoſt not in part, as the Apoſtles, but without meaſure. 2 Second-mariages they condemn as whoredome. "3 The Bread in the Lords-Supper, they mingle with the blood "of a yearling Infant.

Damus in his Comment upon that Book of *Auguſtine*, addeth other Hereſies, out of other Authors: as for a 4. That *Montanus* "himſelf was the Comforter promiſed to the Apoſtles. "5 That inceſtuous copulations were not to be diſallowed. "6 That Enthuſiaſms and Revelations were rather to be followed then the Word of God. 7 That they confounded "the Perſons in Trinity, as did the Sabellians and Patropaſſiani.

Now amongſt all theſe Montaniſtick Tenents, I would intreat Mr. *Baylie* to tell me (in faithfulneſs) which of them it is he chargeth upon me, and which he calleth, my old Montaniſm, wherein ſome think I do remain to this day.

PART I. Or if he ſay, (as he doth) that he hath heard of my old Montaniſm, by ſome gracious Miniſters, let him be pleaſed to intreat them to declare to me thoſe Points of Montaniſm, which they know by me, or ſuſpect in me. Otherwiſe I ſhall conceive, though they may be gracious Miniſters that ſo told him, yet it was no part of their graciouſneſſe ſo to ſpeak; a ſpeech that neither ſavored of Truth, nor love, nor wiſdom, nor faithfulneſſe.

But in peruſing the ſequel of this Diſcourſe, I finde a paſſage, which maketh me ſuſpect, what Tenent of Montaniſm it is which he aimeth at, in *Page* 61. ſpeaking of the vileneſſe of the errors of the members of our Churches; "They did (ſaith he) "avow openly, The perſonall inhabitation of the Spirit in all "the godly; his immediate Revelations without the Word; and "theſe as infallible as the Scripture it ſelf. And this (ſaith he) is "the vileſt Montaniſm.

Theſe two latter Tenents, immediate Revelations without the Word, and them as infallible as the Scripture it ſelf, I willingly confeſſe they are vile Montaniſm; though I would not ſay (as he doth) the vileſt. For the vileſt is, to hold *Montanus* himſelf to be the Holy-Ghoſt, or to have received the Holy-Ghoſt in a more full meaſure then the Apoſtles themſelves.

But for the firſt of theſe Tenents, touching the Perſonall Inhabitation of the Holy-Ghoſt in the godly, it may further be conſidered before it be condemned. Perſonall Inhabitation may be taken in a double ſenſe: For, 1 It may hold forth no more but this, the indwelling not onely of the Gifts of the Holy-Ghoſt, but of his Perſon alſo in the Regenerate. Or 2. it may hold forth further, the indwelling of the Perſon of the Holy-Ghoſt in the Regenerate, ſo farre forth as to make us one Perſon with himſelf, or to communicate with us ſome Perſonall propriety of his own.

In this latter ſenſe Mr. *Baylie* may well be allowed to call it, vile Montaniſm: for the Errors are vile, and alſo wrapt up in *Montanus* his Tenents: But for the former, the indwelling not onely of the Gifts, but of the Perſon alſo of the Holy-Ghoſt in the Regenerate, I muſt profeſſe, I neither beleeve the Tenent to be vile nor Montaniſm. Not Montaniſm, for amongſt all the Errors of *Montanus* or his followers, I never read this imputed to them, by ſuch as have been the moſt diligent Recorders and Refuters.

Refuters of ancient Herefies. Neither *Auguſtine*, nor *Epiphanius* before him, nor *Danæus* after him, did ever father this Tenent upon the Montaniſts. Nor is the Tenent vile or erroneous, but an holy Truth of God delivered to us from the Word of Truth. As may appear, PART I.

1. From the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, *Joh.* 14.16,17,26. with *Joh.* 15. 26. The argument ſtandeth thus, *The Comforter which proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne; even the Spirit of Truth, he dwelleth* in the Diſciples of *Chriſt Jeſus*.

The Comforter which proceedeth from the Father & the Son, even the Spirit of Truth, is the Perſon of the Holy-Ghoſt himſelf.

Therefore the Perſon of the Holy-Ghoſt himſelf dwelleth in the Diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus.

2. From the teſtimony of the Apoſtle *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 14. *That Good thing* (faith he) *which is committed to thee, keep, by the Holy Ghoſt, which dwelleth in us.* That Good thing is fitly underſtood by our beſt Interpreters, *Calvin* and *Beza*, to be, not onely the ſound Doctrine of the Goſpel, and his Miniſteriall Office, but alſo the excellent gifts of the Spirit of Grace furniſhing him for diſcharge of his Office, and diſpenſation of the Goſpel. Whence the Argument holdeth thus;

The Holy-Ghoſt that keepeth the good gifts of Grace in us, dwelleth in us.

The Holy-Ghoſt that keepeth the good gifts of Grace in us, is not the gifts, but the perſon of the Holy-Ghoſt diſtinguiſhed from them:

Therefore it is the Perſon of the Holy-Ghoſt, and not his gifts onely that dwelleth in us.

3. From another teſtimony of *Paul*, Rom. 8.11. *If the Spirit of him that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, dwell in you; he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortall bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* Whence the Argument ariſeth thus,

The Spirit that dwelleth in us, is the Spirit that raiſed Chriſt from the dead, and ſhall alſo quicken our mortall bodies;

But it is not the Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, but the Perſon of the Spirit himſelf that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, and ſhall quicken our mortall bodies:

Therefore it is the Perſon of the Spirit that dwelleth in us.

It was not the Gifts and Graces of the Spirit of Chriſt him-

PART I. self, much lesse our Gifts and Graces that did raise up Christ from the dead. Not the Gifts and Graces of Christ himself; for they were but created. And it was an act farre above all created power, to raise up Christ from the dead. Much lesse were they our Gifts and Graces that raised him up; for ours, are not onely created, but imperfect, and which is more, they were not then in Being, when God raised up Christ from the dead.

To these three Divine Testimonies (which are the ground of my faith in this point) let me adde one humane Testimony of a learned Divine, who was never tainted, nor taxed with Montanisme, I meane *Zanchius, de Tribus Elohim Parte altera, lib.4. cap.1.* His testimony cometh in thus: "*Præter alia argumenta, quibus confirmavimus Spiritum Sanctum verum esse Deum, illud etiam non fuit minimum, quod inde deduximus, quia Fideles vocantur Templum Spiritus Sancti,* 1 Cor.6.19. and 3.16.

Against this argument from the proof of the God-head of the Holy-Ghost, *Ochinus* gave this answer amongst others: "*Dona Dei nobis concessa, hoc eodem nomine notari: sed non tertium suppositum, hoc est personam, a Patre & Filio distinctam, &c.*

To this *Zanchius* replyeth: "*Non potest Spiritus Ochinianus nisi impudenter inficiari, quin Spiritus Sanctus, hoc est, tertia hæc persona (quæ etiam Spiritus Dei, & virtus Dei appellatur) habitet in Sanctis hominibus, & quin illi sint hujus Templum, qui enim in iis habitat, judicio, & voluntate præditus est, & loquitur; Spiritus Patris vestri (inquit Christus) loquitur in vobis,* Matth.10.20. *Spiritus autem Sanctus appellatur ipse Spiritus Dei, & Spiritus Christi. Spiritus igitur Sanctus, hoc est tertia Persona, habitat in Sanctis. Quod vero ait Spiritus Ochinianus, Non posse tertiam Personam habitare in Sanctis, quin ibi etiam habitent reliqua, dictum est bene. Nam etiam Christus dixit, Ego & Pater ad eum veniemus, & mansionem apud eum faciemus,* Ioh. 14.23. *Hoc vero ideo fit, quoniam omnes sunt una & eadem essentia, &c.*

SECT. 13. *Of* Cottons *pretended Antinomianisme and Familisme.*

The Disswader proceedeth to point at (as hee calleth it) another more dangerous fall of mine, which in his Margent, he nameth Mr. *Cottons* Antinomianisme, and Familisme: and within a few lines, his wandring into the horrible Errors of

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" the Antinomians, and Familists, with his dear friend Ms. *Hut-* PART I.
" *chinson*, so far that he came to a resolution to side with her, and
" to Separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as legall
" Synagogues.

If all this charge were true (as indeed, in all parts of it, it is false:) yet the errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, then stirring in the Countrey, and condemned in the Synod at *New-Towne*, were not more dangerous, then the old Montanisme. I confesse, the Familisme afterwards broached by Mr. *Garton*, and his followers, the same which *Calvin* in his *Opuscula* refuteth (in his *Instructio adversus Libertinos*) as *Calvin* judgeth it more dangerous then Popery, so I conceive it to be as dangerous as Montanisme, though I cannot say more dangerous: for both of them overthrow all principles & foundations of Christian Religion. But for the making good of this charge upon me, let Mr. *Baylie* be pleased to instance in those horrible errors either of Antinomianisme or Familisme, whereunto I either wandred or fell: Or let him make it appeare " that I came to such a Resolution, to side
" with my dear friend Ms. *Hutchinson*, and to separate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as legall Synagogues.

Let us examine his proofes and Testimonies.

" 1. The first is from the parties themselves, the followers of
" Ms. *Hutchinson*, who (saith he) boast of Mr. *Cotton* for their Ma-
" ster and Patron.

And it is true, they professed so: just as *Wightman* who was burnt at *Lichfield* for Montanisms, (avouching himself to be the Holy Ghost) professed he had received all his grounds from Mr. *Hildersam*. And I confesse my self, being naturally (I thank God) not suspicious, hearing no more of their Tenents from them, then what seemed to mee Orthodoxall, I beleeved, they had been far off from such grosse errors, as were bruited of them. But when some of my fellow-Brethren (the Elders of Neighbour Churches) advertised me of the evill report that went abroad of their corrupt Tenents, I desired to know what the Tenents were, which were corrupt, and which they had vented here and there, in my name. They mentioned some to mee, some of those which are published in the short story of that Subject: and named also to me the persons, who had uttered the same. I therefore dealt with Mris. *Hutchinson* and others of them, declaring to them the erroneousnesse of those Tenents, and the injury done to my self, in

PART I. in fathering them upon mee. Both shee, and they utterly denyed, that they held such Tenents, or that they had fathered them upon mee. I returned their Answer to the Elders, who had spoken to mee of them: and I inquired, if any two of them, or of their Neighbours could bear witnesse in this case. They answered me, they had but one witnesse of any corrupt Tenent: and that one, loth to be known to bee an accuser of them. I replyed, what course would you then advise mee to take? They answered, that I could not indeed bring the matter to the Church for want of witnesses: But the best way would bee, publikely and privately to bear witnesse against such errors. I tooke their counsell, and bare witnesse against the errors complained of, as well publikely as privately. Which when some Elders and Brethren heard, meeting soon after with some of these Opinionists: "Loe, say they, now wee have heard "your Teacher bearing witnesse openly against those very "points, which you falsely father on him. No matter (say the "other) what you heare him say in publick: we know what "hee saith to us in private. This answer bred in some of my Brethren and friends, a jealousie, that my selfe was a secret fomenter of this spirit of Familisme, if not leavened my self that way. Whereupon sundry Elders and Brethren perceiving these Errors to spread, secretly and closely, they consulted among themselves, and with me what I thought of a Synod, whether it might bee of use in such a case for the clearing of these Points, and the allaying of the jealousies and differences in the Countrey? I answered, yea. Thereupon, with consent of the Magistrates, a time, and place was appointed for a Synodicall meeting, and sundry Elders were sent for, from other jurisdictions, and messengers from all the Churches in the Country to assist in this worke.

Against which time three things principally were attended for preparation.

1. A Solemne Fast kept in all the Churches: in which it fell out, that Mr. *Wheelewrights* Sermon was apprehended to give too much encouragement to the Opinionists. And himself hath since confessed, that being but new come into the Countrey, having but little acquaintance but with his kindred, and their friends, (who were many of them levened this way) he spake some things, which if he had before discerned their Familisme, he would not have expressed himself as he did.

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The 2. thing attended to, for preparation to the Synod, was, the gathering up of all the corrupt and offensive Opinions that were scattered up and down the Countrey, and to commend them to Publique Disquisition in the Synod: that howsoever, the Authours of them were loth to owne them publikely, yet at least, they might see them publickely tryed, confuted, and condemned. The which was accordingly done in the Synod: and the Opinions with their Confutations are since printed in the short story, whence Mr. *Baylie* fetcheth many Testimonies. PART I.

The 3. thing thought needfull for preparation to the Synod, was, to gather out of my Sermons to the people, and my conferences (in word and writing) with the Elders, all such opinions of mine as were conceived by some, to bee erroneous: and having gathered them together, to inquire in a brotherly conference with mee, how far I would own them, or how I did understand them, that so the true state of the questions in difference might appeare; and withall, if there were any aguish distemper, or disaffection growen in any of our spirits amongst our selves, it might be healed in a private brotherly way, and mutuall satisfaction given and taken on all hands. Accordingly we had such a meeting in private; wherein five questions were propounded unto mee, with desire of my plaine and explicite answer to the same: which also upon their demand, I gave suddenly.

Quest. 1.

"*Whether our Union with Christ be compleat before and without* "*Faith*?

Where I gave this answer, which was taken in writing: "Not "without, nor before the habit (or gift) of Faith, but before "the act of Faith; that is, not before Christ hath wrought Faith "in us (for in uniting himself to us, he worketh Faith in us:) yet "in order of nature, before our faith doth put forth it self to "lay hold on him.

For indeed I looked at Union with Christ, as equipollent to Regeneration. And looke as in Generation we are in a passive way united to *Adam*: so in Regeneration wee are united to Christ. And as the soule *habet se mere passive* (in the judgement of our best Divines) in Regeneration, so also in union, and by the judgment of Christ himself, who saith,

PART I. without Christ abiding in us (and so united to us) we can doe nothing, not bring forth any spiritual fruit at all: much lesse can we before union with Christ, unite our selves to Christ, which is the greatest and most spirituall fruit of all. I was not ignorant, that some of the Schoolmen (even some Dominicans) & out of them *Ferus*, and some others (even of judicious Protestants) are of opinion, that Christ doth give the Soule by the Almighty power of the *auxilium efficax* of his Spirit, to put forth an act of Faith, to lay hold on Christ, before hee give them a habit or gift of Faith. But I could not understand how this could stand with Christs Word, *That without Christ abiding in us, wee can doe nothing.* Which argueth, no spirituall act can bee done by us without Christ habitually permanent in us. And as acute and judicious *Baynes* saith, (in *Ephes.* 1.) This were to give a man to see, without an eye to see withall: which though God can doe by his Almighty power, yet as the Philosopher said of *Entia*: so it may be much more said of *Miracula* (which are extraordinary *Entia*) *Miracula sine necessitate non sunt multiplicanda.*

QUEST. II.

Whether Faith be an instrumentall cause in applying Christs righteousnesse to our Justification.

Whereto I answered,

"Faith is an instrument to receive the righteousnesse of Christ "applyed to us of God, for our Justification: but not properly "an instrumentall cause.

Where I understood Instrument, as the Hebrews doe, כלי which they indifferently put for Instrument, or Vessell: For Faith emptying the soule of all confidence in its own righteousnesse, is a fit vessell or instrument to receive the righteousnesse of Christ offered and imputed; and so I tooke Faith rather as a fit disposition of the subject to be justified, then as a proper instrumentall cause of our justification: like the empty vessels of the Prophets widow, which whilst they were empty, the oyle ran forth into them (the empty vessels being fit to receive it:) But yet the empty vessels were not properly instrumentall causes of the running forth of the Oyle, but onely fit instruments to receive it.

QUEST.

PART I.

QUEST. 3.

Whether the Spirit of God in evidencing our Justification doth beare witnesse in an absolute promise of free Grace, without Qualification, or condition.

My answer was,

"The Spirit in evidencing our Justification doth bear witnesse either in an absolute promise, or in a conditionall: in case, the condition bee understood, or applyed absolutely, not attending the condition as the ground or cause of the assurance, but as the effect and consequence of it: or (as I might have added, as before) as a fit disposition of the subject to receive it.

For I conceived, though the Spirit may evidence to us our Justification in a Qualification or condition: yet sometime the condition is not there before the promise, but freely given with the promise, as *Acts* 10.43, 44. where though *Cornelius* and his household were beleevers, yet many of his kindred and friends were not: who yet upon hearing the promise of Remission (or Justification) unto Faith, they received both Faith and Justification, and the evidence of both, all together: as did also the Jailor in the like sort, *Act.* 16.31. Sometime, though the Qualification or condition bee there before, and the Spirit doe bear witnesse to our Justification in that condition: yet the condition is not the cause either of justification, or of the evidence of it, as in *Luke* 7.47. Christ beareth evident witnesse of the Remission or Justification of *Mary Magdalen*, in her love to him. Nevertheless her love was not the cause, neither of her Justification, nor of the assurance of it, but an effect of both. For shee expressed those evidences of her love to Christ, because her sins were forgiven her, and because her self was assured of the forgiveness of them.

Sometimes the Qualification or condition mentioned in the promise, though it bee in the soule before, yet it is not evident there before. And then the evidence of Justification springeth not from the condition, but from the Grace of the promise, clearing and evidencing both the condition and the Justification. Thus Christ applyeth himselfe by his Spirit, to bruised Reeds, or broken hearts. *Isa.* 57.15.

Lastly, if Faith it self bee meant to be the saving qualifica-

PART I. tion or condition, and be also found, and that evidently in the soul to whom the Promise of Justification is made; yet the Spirit may bear witnesse in the Promise of Grace to the Justification of such a soul, without either the word expressing the Condition in that place, or the soul attending the Condition at that time: As when Christ said to the Woman, *Luk.* 7.48. *Thy sinnes are forgiven thee,* He neither mentioneth her Faith in that word, nor doth it appear, that she did reflect upon her Faith in receiving that Promise at that time. Many an Israelite stung by the fiery Serpents in the wildernesse, might look up to the brazen Serpent for healing, and yet at that time not look to their eye, nor think upon their eye by which they looked. And though afterwards Christ doe make expresse mention of the womans Faith, to which he attributeth her salvation, (*Woman,* saith he, *thy Faith hath saved thee,* ver. 50.) Nevertheless, that Faith, though it be an Evidence of Assurance in the subject Person of his Justification: yet it is also an Effect or Consequence of the Evidence and Assurance of the Object, that is, of the grace and mercy of God clearly revealed and applyed to the soul in the Promise, even to the begetting of Faith it self, and the Assurance of it. As when Christ did promise (by the Ministery of *Paul*) salvation to the Jaylor in Believing; the Grace of Christ clearly revealed and applyed in the Promise did beget Faith in the Jaylor, and the Assurance of Faith. And so his Faith, and the Assurance of it was an Effect and Consequence of the Grace and Assurance of it offered to him in the Promise. Faith though it be an Evidence of things not seen (with bodily eye;) yet it is an effect of a former Evidence, even of the light of Gods Countenance shining forth through Christ in the Promise of Grace upon the soul, to the begetting of Faith, and the assurance of it.

But howsoever, Faith being always of a self humbling efficacy, it is a fit disposition of the subject to receive comfort and assurance, *Isa.* 57. 15.

Calvin defineth Faith to be *Divinæ ergo nos benevolentiæ firmam certamque cognitionem, quæ gratuitæ in Christo Promissionis veritate fundata, per Spiritum Sanctum & revelatur mentibus nostris & cordibus obsignatur. Instit.* l. 3. c. 2. *Sect.* 7. Now when hee cometh to expound what he meaneth by the free promise of grace in Christ, upon which this knowledg (or assurance) of Faith

Faith is founded, he maketh it to be, not conditionall. And he giveth this reason, "*Quoniam* (saith he) *Conditionalis Pro-* "*missio quâ ad opera nostra remittimur, non aliter vitam promittit,* "*quàm si perspiciamus esse in nobis sitam. Ergo, nisi Fidem tre-* "*mere, ac vacillare volumus, illam Salutis Promissione fulciamus* "*oportet, quæ à Domino ultrò ac liberaliter, potiusque miseriæ no-* "*stræ quàm dignitatis respectu offeratur; ibidem Sect.* 29. PART I.

But what was the occasion of this Question from any speech or writing of mine, I cannot call to minde, unlesse it were concerning the First evidence of justification, which is the purport of the next Question. For otherwise, if Faith and Assurance be first founded and bottomed upon a Promise of Free-grace, I never doubted, but that Sanctification or Faith, (any saving qualification) may be, (and is by the help of the Spirit) a clear and certain Evidence of Justification. So that put the Question *in terminis*,

"Whether the Spirit of God in Evidencing our Justifica-
"tion doth bear witness in an absolute Promise of Free-
"Grace, without qualification or condition?

I should answer plainly and roundly, The Spirit doth Evidence our Justification both wayes, sometime in an absolute Promise, sometime in a conditionall.

QUEST. 4.

Whether some Saving Qualification may be a first Evidence of Justification?

Hereto I answered,

"A man may have an argument from thence, (yea, I doubt not
"a firm and strong argument) but not a first Evidence.

For I conceived, Faith it self, which is an evidence of things not seen, and the first saving Qualification that doth Evidence Justification, is it self founded upon a former evidence, even the Free-grace of God in Christ, revealed in the promise of Grace, and applyed to the soul effectually by the Spirit of grace both in our effectuall Calling (even to the begetting of Faith) and in our Justification. Accordingly, the Apostle reckoning the Evidences that bear witnesse of our life in Christ, giveth the first place to the Spirit, before any fruit of the Spirit; There are three (saith he) that bear witnesse on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, 1 *Joh.* 5.8. First,

PART I. the Spirit, to wit, of illumination and drawing, whereby he revealeth Christ to us, and worketh Faith in us, 2 *Cor.* 4. 6. *Ephes.* 1. 17, 18. *Joh.* 6. 44. 45. Secondly, the water of Sanctification. And thirdly, the Blood of atonement (or pacification) pacifying the conscience.

Calvin also is of the same judgment in this Question, in 2 *Pet.* 1. 10. & in 1 *Joh.* 3. 14. & 19.

And *Zanchy* likewise doth at large dispute this Question, and conclude it against Dr. *Marbachius* in his *Miscellanies*, in that part of it entituled, *Disceptatio inter duos Theologos*, from *pag.* 598. to *pag.* 605. *Editionis in quarto.*

QUEST. 5.

Whether Christ and his benefits be dispensed in a Covenant of Works?

Whereunto my answer was,

"Christ is dispensed to the Elect in a Covenant of Grace: to "others he may be dispensed in some sort, (to wit, in a taste of "him) either in a Covenant of works, or in a Covenant of "grace legally applyed.

To give an hint of the reason of mine answer. The Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, (wherein Christ was dispensed in sacrifices and ceremonies) though to the faithfull seed of *Abraham* it was a Covenant of Grace, (wherein they saw Christ and his benefits graciously dispensed to them, *Psal.* 51, 7.) yet to the carnall seed, it seemed to me to be a Covenant of Works, to prepare them for the saving benefits of that Covenant of Grace which was formerly given to *Abraham* and his seed, (but neglected by them in *Egypt*) and afterwards renewed in the plains of *Moab*, *Deut.* chap. 29. & Chap. 30. And so *Paul* maketh that Covenant on Mount *Sinai*, to be expresly a different Covenant from that of grace, to wit, a Covenant gendring unto bondage, *Gal.* 4. 24, 25. and the other Covenant (*Deut.* 30.) to be of Grace, *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8. *Moses* also himself, having recited the Covenant on Mount *Sinai* (*Deut.* 5.) he maketh the observation of all the Commandements to be the righteousnesse of the people, *Deut.* 6. 25. and their life, *Levit.* 18. 4. And so *Paul* understandeth him, *Rom.* 10. 5. *Gal.* 3. 12. Now that Covenant which gendreth unto bondage, and holdeth forth righteousnesse and life upon obedi-

ence

ence to all the Commandements, it is a Covenant of Works. PART I.

And so have the chiefest Germane Divines, as well as *Piscator*, and *Polanus*, taken the Covenant on Mount *Sinai* to bee a covenant of Workes. See *Piscaeor*, *Ezek.* 16. *Observat. ultima in vers.* 60.62. & *Polanus ibidem.*

How far there arose any consent or dissent about these questions, between my Fellow-Brethren (the Elders of these churches) & my self, it is not materiall now to particularize; it is enough, that upon our clear understanding of one anothers mindes & judgments, and upon the due proceeding of our Church against convinced notorious errors and scandalls, wee have ever since (by the Grace of Christ) much amiable and comfortable Communion together in al brotherly kindness. But this short relation may suffice.

To let Mr. *Baylie* know, and all them that shall read his Book, to consider, what slender "ground hee had to speak of my wan-"dring into the horrible Errors of the Antinomians, and Fa-"milists, and siding therein with Mistris *Hutchinson*, and therein "to tell the world of a more dangerous fall of mine, then that "of Montanisme: And withall to clear up to him, what little "ground Mistris *Hutchinson* had, to pretend, that shee was of "Mr. *Cottons* judgement in all things: that so Mr. *Baylie* may likewise observe what ground himself had to take up such a report against me, upon her testimony. Which yet will the more fully appeare, if I proceed to relate a principall passage or two in the Synod, after it was assembled. It was the first act of the Synod (after Prayer and choice of Moderators) to propound the severall offensive opinions, which had been dispersed up and downe in the Country, and briefely to argue them, and bear witnesse against them. The opinions were about fourescore (more or lesse) which being orderly propounded and argued against, I perceived that some of the Members & Messengers of our Church, were ready to rise up, and plead in defence of sundry corrupt Opinions, which I verily thought had been far from them; especially such as concerned union with Christ before Faith, Iustification without Faith, inherent righteousnes, and evidencing a good estate by it at all, first or last. Whereupon assoon as I could get liberty of speech with them, "Brethren (said I) if you be of that judgment, which "you plead for, all these Bastardly Opinions, which are justly "offensive to the Churches, will be fathered upon *Boston*. They answered me again, "Though they were not clear for those Opi-

"nions

PART I. "nions, which they spake for, yet neither were they clear for "condemning of them, considering the tenderneſſe of some "Conſciences: I replyed, if they were doubtfull of the Erroneouſneſſe and danger of ſuch Opinions, they ſhould have dealt "openly with the Church at home, when they were choſen Meſſengers, and ſhould have declared their judgments before the "Church: as knowing ſuch points amongſt others were likely to "come into agitation in the Synod: whereas now looke what "they ſpeak, it is conceived by the whole Countrey to bee the "judgment of our Church.

Hereupon ſome of the Meſſengers of our Church withdrew themſelves, and appeared no more in the Synod, ſuch as did appear, did much what forbear any proſecution of argument in ſuch cauſes. But that (to my remembrance) was the firſt time of my diſcerning a real and broad difference, between the judgments of our Brethren (who leaned to Miſtris *Hutchinſon*) and my ſelf. And therefore to clear my ſelf, and the ſounder Members of our Church from partaking in thoſe manifold errors there preſented, I declared my judgment openly before all the aſſembly, "That I "eſteemed ſome of the Opinions, to bee blaſphemous: ſome of "them, hereticall: many of them, Erroneous: and almoſt all of "them, incommodiouſly expreſſed: as intending to except "thoſe chiefly, wherein I had declared mine own opinion, as "before.

But becauſe I would deale openly and ingenuouſly with Mr. *Baylie*, and hide nothing from him, that might fortify his accuſation againſt me, there was ſome colour of my leaning to one Antinomian Tenent in one day of the Synod. For though in anſwer to the queſtions of the Elders before the Synod, I had affirmed Faith to be an inſtrument for the receiving the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt to our juſtification: yet for as much as ſome great Divines had let fall ſome expreſſions, that ſeemed to favour the Antinomian party in a contrary Tenent, I was deſirous to hear that Point a little further ventilated, and to ſee the difficulties a little more fully cleared. Dr. *Twiſſe* (not ſuſpected for an Antinomian, much leſſe for a Familiſt) in his *vindiciæ gratiæ, de electione, Parte* 2. *Section.* 25. *Numero* 5. bringeth in *Arminius*, arguing againſt Mr. *Perkins*, thus: "The righteouſneſſe of Chriſt wrought "or performed, is not ours, as wrought or performed, but as by Faith imputed to us. Whereto the Dr. anſwereth, Before Faith, this

"this Righteousnesse of Christ was ours, and in the intention PART I.
"of God the Father, and of Christ our Mediator, was wrought
"for us. And because it is wrought for us, therefore God in his
"own time will give it us, and Grace of every kind, even Faith
"it self amongst the rest. But Faith coming, (which the Holy
"Ghost kindleth in our hearts) then at length this love of God to
"us in *Christ*, is acknowledged & perceived. Whence it is, that the
"Righteousnesse of Christ is said to bee imputed to us, by Faith,
"because it is not deserned to be imputed to us, but by Faith: and
"then we are said to be justified with that kind of Justification, &
"absolution from sin, which breedeth peace in our Consciences.

"And this (saith he) I confirm by two arguments. 1. Because
"by the Righteousnesse of Christ, wee obtain not onely Remissi-
"on of sinnes, but Faith it self, and Repentance, as it is writen,
"God hath blessed us with all spirituall blessings in Christ, *Ephes.*
"1. 3. Therefore even before Faith and Repentance, the
"Righteousnesse of Christ is applyed to us, as for which
"wee obtain Grace effectuall to believe in Christ, and to re-
"pent. 2. Because Justification and absolution, as they signify an
"immanent act in God, are *ab æterno, &c.*
"Wherto he subjoyneth the Poets ingenuous verse to the reader.

"*Si quid novisti rectius istis,*
"*Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*

Before Dr. *Twisse*, *Chamier* (a Divine, as free as the other from suspition of Antinomianisme) denyeth Faith to bee a cause of Justification; "For if it were (saith hee) Justification should not
"be of Grace, but of us. But Faith is said to justifie, not because
"it effecteth Justification, but because it is effected in the justified
"person, and requisite to be found in him. *De Fide libr.* 13. *cap.* 6.
And to the same purpose, *De Justificatione; libr.* 22. *cap.* 12. hee contendeth, "that Faith as it doth not merit, nor bring Justi-
"fication, so neither doth it (*impetrare*) obtain it. For if
"it were so, then *tum ratione, tum tempore Fides præcederet Justi-*
"*ficationem*, Faith should goe before Justification, both in nature
"and time: Which (saith hee) in no sort may be granted. For
"Faith is it self a part of Sanctification; but there is no San-
"ctification, but after Justification, *quæ & re, & naturâ prior*
"*est*, which both in the thing it self, and in nature is before it.

To the like purpose doth Mr. *Pemble* deliver his judgment in his Book of the Nature and Properties of Grace and Faith,

PART I. *Page* 24. 25. of his Edition in Folio.

The Discrepance of all these Divines from the received expressions of the most, gave just occasion, why in such an Assembly, the judgment of sundry acute and judicious Elders, might be enquired. Accordingly, in one day of their dispute in the Synod (with Mr. *Wheelwright*, if I forget not) I interposed such a word as this, God may bee said to justifie me before the habit, or act of Faith, and the habit is the effect of my Justification, intending the same sense, as hath been expressed out of those Divines: upon which, the next day was taken up in disputing and arguing that Point with mee. And when I saw their apprehensions, that they were suitable to Scripture phrase, and the contrary difficulties might bee removed *sano sensu*, I the next morning did of my self freely declare to them publikely, my consent with them in the point, which (as they professed) they gladly accepted.

Now upon all this relation (which is the substance of the whole Truth in this cause) I desire Mr. *Baylie* might consider what ground he had, "either to report mee to the World as "sometimes dangerously fallen into the horrible Errors of An-"tinomianisme, and Familisme: or to take Ms. *Hutchinsons* re-"port in this cause, That she was of Mr. *Cottons* judgment in all "things. Let him please to read the short story of the Errors and heresies, for which shee was admonished publickly in *Boston* Church, and compare them with the Tenents of mine now mentioned, and let him judge of himself, whether she was of Mr. *Cottons* judgment in all things.

I would not have enlarged my self so much, either to clear her testimony, or to elevate it, were it not to take off some scruples and surmises in Mr. *Baylie* of some dangerous guilt in me of Antinomian, and Familisticall errors, which he thinkes cannot be avoided by what he collecteth from other testimonies, as well as hers which may fully be prevented and avoided by this relation of the true state of things.

But before I leave speech of her, let me speak a word to Mr. *Baylie* of the Epithet hee is pleased to give her, "when hee styleth "her, my dear friend, with whom I resolved to side and sepa-"rate from all the Churches in *New-England*, as Legall "Churches.

At her first comming she was well respected and esteemed of me,

mos

not onely becauſe herſelf and her family were well beloved in *England* at *Allford* in *Lincolnſhire* (not far beyond *Boſton*:) nor onely becauſe ſhe with her family came over hither (as was ſaid) for conſcience ſake: but chiefly for that I heard, ſhee did much good in our Town, in womans meeting at Childbirth-Travells, wherein ſhee was not onely skilfull and helpfull, but readily fell into good diſcourſe with the women about their ſpiritual eſtates: And therein cleared it unto them, That the ſoul lying under a Spirit of Bondage, might ſee and ſenſibly feel the hainous guilt, and deep deſert of ſin, and thereby not onely undergoe affliction of Spirit but alſo receive both reſtraining, and conſtraining Grace likewiſe, (in ſome meaſure:) reſtraining from all known evill (both courſes, and companies) (at leaſt for a ſeaſon) and conſtraining to all knowen duties, as ſecret Prayer, Family Exerciſes, Conſcience of Sabbaths, Reverence of Miniſters, Frequenting of Sermons, Diligence in calling, honeſty in dealing and the like: yea and that the Soul might find ſome taſtes and flaſhes of ſpirituall comfort in this eſtate, and yet never ſee or feel the need of Chriſt, much leſſe attain any ſaving Union, or Communion with him, being no more but Legall work, even what the Law, and the Spirit of bondage (breathing in it) might reach unto. By which means many of the women (and by them their husbands) were convinced, that they had gone on in a Covenant of Works, and were much ſhaken and humbled thereby, and brought to enquire more ſeriouſly after the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, without whom all their Gifts and Graces would prove but common, and their duties but legall, and in the end wizzen and vaniſh. All this was well (as is reported truely, *page* 31. of her Story) and ſuited with the publike Miniſtery, which had gone along in the ſame way, ſo as theſe private conferences did well tend to water the ſeeds publikely ſowen. Whereupon all the faithfull embraced her conference, and bleſſed God for her fruitfull diſcourſes. And many whoſe ſpirituall eſtates were not ſo ſafely layed, yet were hereby helped and awakened to diſcover their ſandy foundations, and to ſeek for better eſtabliſhment in Chriſt: which cauſed them alſo to bleſſe the Lord for the good ſucceſſe, which appeared to them by this diſcovery. PART I.

Hitherto therefore ſhee wrought with God, and with the Miniſters, the work of the Lord. No marvell therefore if at that time, ſhee found loving and dear reſpect both from our Church-

PART I. Elders and Brethren, and so from my self also amongst the rest.

Afterwards, it is true, she turned aside not only to corrupt opinions, but to dis-esteem generally the Elders of the churches, (though of them shee esteemed best of Mr. *Shepheard*:) and for my selfe, (in the repetitions of Sermons in her house) what shee repeated and confirmed, was accounted sound, what shee omitted, was accounted Apocrypha. This change of hers was long hid from me: and much longer the evidence of it, by any two clear witnesses. I sent some Sisters of the Church on purpose to her Repetitions, that I might know the truth: but when shee discerned any such present, no speech fell from her, that could be much excepted against. But further discourse about her course is not pertinent to the present businesse. But by this Mr. *Baylie* may discerne, how farre Ms. *Hutchinson* was dear unto mee, and if hee speak of her as my deare friend, till shee turned aside, I refuse it not.

But yet thus much I must professe to him, That in the times of her best acceptance, shee was not so dear unto mee, but that (by the help of Christ) I dealt faithfully with her about her spirituall estate. There things I told her, made her spirituall estate unclear to mee. 1. "That her Faith was not begotten nor (by her relation) scarce at any time strengthened, by publick Ministery, but by private Meditations, or Revelations onely.

"2. That shee clearly discerned her Justification (as shee professed:) but little or nothing at all, her Sanctification: though (she said) shee beleeved, such a thing there was by plain Scripture.

"3. That she was more sharply censorious of other mens spirituall estates and hearts, then the servants of God are wont to be, who are more taken up with judging of themselves before the Lord, then of others.

Now a word of that other passage, in Mr. *Baylies* speech, touching my resolution to side with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and to separate from all the Churches of *New-England*, as legall Synagogues. The truth is, I did intended to remove, but not to Separate; much lesse with Ms. *Hutchinson*, and least of all from all the Churches of *New-England*: and yet lesse then the least of all, to separate from them, as legall Synagogues.

The occasion of my intent of removall was this. After the banishment

banishment of Ms. *Hutchinson* and sundry others by occasion of her, the generall court made an order, that none should be received to abide as Inhabitants in this Jurisdiction, unlesse they were allowed under the hand of the Governour, or two Assistants. The Assistants are our Magistrates. When this Law came to be put in ure, I was informed that some godly passengers who hither arrived out of *England*, were refused to sit down amongst us, because (upon tryall) they held forth such an union with Christ by the Spirit giving Faith, as did precede the acting of Faith upon Christ: and such an evidence of that union, by the favour of God shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, as did precede the seeing (though not the being) of Sanctification. PART I.

This took the deeper impression upon me, because I saw by this meanes, wee should receive no more Members into our Church, but such as must professe themselves of a contrary judgment to what I beleeved to bee a Truth. Besides I was informed, that it was the judgment of some of place, in the Countrey, that such a Doctrin of Union, and evidencing of Union, as was held forth by mee, was the *Trojan* Horse, out of which all the erroneous Opinions and differences of the Countrey did issue forth.

Hereupon, fearing this might in time breed a renewall of Paroxysmes, I called to mind the intent of my comming hither, which was, not to disturb, but to edify the Churches here: and therefore began to entertain thoughts rather of peaceable removall then of offensive continuance. At the same time there was brought to mee a writing, subscribed with about threescore hands to encourage me to removall, and offering their readinesse to remove with mee into some other part of this Countrey.

I considered, If wee removed, it would be matter of much various construction amongst such as knew us, both in *Old-England*, and *New*; and I was loth to doe any thing, (especially of importance) but what I might give account of before God, and his people: I took advice therefore of some friends here, especially Mr. *Davenport*, and resolved, first to clear the certainty of the grounds of the information given mee of the rejections of those godly persons (of whom I had heard) for their judgments sake in those points. 2. To see if my continuance here would certainly, or

PART I. probably breed any further offensive agitation: And 3. If both those things were found clearly, then to take opportunity with common consent to remove to *Quinipyatk* whereto at that time a door was opened.

But when I came to enquire the certainty of these informations, in conference with some of our chief Magistrates and others, I found, though there had speach been about such points between themselves, and some passengers: yet their refusall of such passengers was not upon those points, but (as I remember) upon denyall of inherent righteousnesse in beleevers, and of any evidence of a good estate from thence, first or last. Withall, they declared to mee their minds touching such points of Union, or evidencing of Union, which I had taught, that they did not looke at them to bee of such Fundamentall concernment either to civill or Church-Peace, as needed to occasion any distance in heart, (much lesse in place) amongst godly brethren. Which when I heard from them, and found upon search, the mis-informations given mee, were but misprisions, I then layed down all thoughts of removall, and sat down satisfied in my aboad amongst them, and have so continued (by the help of God) to this day. By all this may appear the truth of what I said, that though I had thoughts of removall, yet not with Ms. *Hutchinson*, shee being gone to *Road Island*, but I intending *Quinipyack*. Much lesse had I any thoughts of Separation from all the Churches of *New-England*: for the Churches in *Quinipiack* are in *New-England*. And those Churches at the *Bay* (amongst whom I lived) It was far from my thoughts to separate from them, whom I ever truely honored as the holy Spouses of Jesus Christ. Nor did I ever look at such Points, as any just ground of Separation from any Church, (so much as in place, much lesse in Communion:) no nor any just ground of removall from them, unlesse a man were compelled to professe contrary to his judgment. And least of all durst I turn my back upon such Churches as Legall Synagogues, who do all of us hold Union with Christ, and evidencing of Union by the same Spirit, and the same Faith and the same holinesse: though some may conceive the Union wrought in giving the habit, and others rather refer it to the act: and some may give the second place to that, whereto others give the first.

It was therefore too much credulity in Mr. *Baylie*, either to take

take up the former testimony from Ms. *Hutchinson*, or this latter from Mr. *Williams*: though if both of them had joyned in one and the same Testimony, (which they doe not) yet the Testimony of two excommunicate Persons doth not make up *idoneum Testimonium* in Ecclesiasticall causes. PART I.

"No? Saith Mr. *Baylie*, if I mistake not the humor of the man, "(Mr. *Williams* he meaneth) he is very unwilling to report a lie "of his greatest enemy.

I look not at my self, as his greatest, or least, or any enemy at all. I doe not know, that I did ever walke towards him either in the affection, or action of an enemy, notwithstanding the provoking injuries, and indignities hee hath put upon mee.

Nor would I call it any mans humor (as Mr. *Baylie* calleth it, Mr. *Williams* his humor) "to be very unwilling to report a lye of "his greatest enemy.

But this I say, Mr. *Williams* is too too credulous of surmises and reports brought to him, and too too confident in divulging of them. Which if Mr. *Baylie* know not, hee may (at his leisure, if hee think it worth the while) peruse the Reply, I have made to his answer of my Letter, as also my answer to his bloody Tenent.

But Mr. *Baylie* giveth the more credit to Mr. *Williams* his Testimony, because Mr. *Williams* saith in his examination of "my Letter, How could I possibly (saith hee) bee ignorant "of their estate, when being from first to last in fellowship "with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publick agitation concerning their Estate, with all, or most of their "Ministers?

The answer is very easie both to Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Baylie* too, that Mr. *Williams* speaketh of the times before his banishment: then indeed he had some fellowship with us, and might have had more, but that hee supected all the *Status conventus* of the Elders to bee unwarrantable, and such as might in time make way to a Presbyteriall government. But this Testimony, which hee giveth about my neereneſſe to Separation from these Churches, was many yeares after his banishment from us, when hee was in no fellowship with us, sacred nor civill, nor came any whit neer any private or publick agitation amongst us, nor could have any intelligence of our affaires, but by report and fame, which is *tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuncia veri*, and is indeed in this point, most false. "But

PART I. "But yet (saith Mr. *Baylie*) the truth of this horrible fall (of "Mr. *Cotton*) if you will not take it, neither from the follow-"ers of Ms. *Hutchinson*, nor from the Testimony of Mr. *Willi-"ams*: yet wee may not reject the witnesse of Mr. *Winthrop*, "and of Mr. *Wells* in their printed relations of the Schismes "there.

"Both these, albeit, with all care and study, they endeavour "to save Mr. *Cottons* credit: yet they let the truth of Mr. *Cottons* "Seduction fall from their Pens in so clear termes, as cannot bee "avoided: yea so clear, as no Art will get Mr. *Cotton* cleared.

Notwithstanding al this confident charge of Mr. *Baylie*, there will be no need at al of any Art to clear Mr. *Cotton*, from seduction into any such horrible fall, the naked truth (by the helpe of Christ) will clear both it self, and him. The Testimonies of Mr. *Winthrop*, and Mr. *Wells*, are all delivered (as it seemeth) in the short Story. There

"In the Preface, *page* 7. It is said, By this time, they had to pa-"tronise them, some of the Magistrates, and some men eminent "for Religion, Parts and Wit.

Answ. 1. This were something, if there were no more men eminent for Religion, Parts and Wit, in the Country but my self, who professe no eminency in any of these in respect of many of my Brethren. But if I were eminent, the testimony concludeth not. Let not Art judge, whether the conclusion will follow from both the premises particular: but let common sense judge of such men, as then lived in the Country, whether there were not many eminent persons for Religion, Parts, and Wit, who did patronise them, though I had been out of the Country.

2. I willingly confesse, that I my self, though I did not patro-nise them, yet I did countenance them (in my measure) whilst they held forth (to my knowledge) no more then I have formerly delivered of my own Tenents: which yet I hope he will not a-gain tax, as an horrible fall into Antinomianisme and Familisme. When their Errors were brought to me, I bare publike witnesse a-gainst them, even before I was fully perswaded that those per-sons were guilty of them.

His next Testimony (which hee quoteth from *page* 25. of the short Story) the former part of it concerneth Mr. *Wheelewright*, and not mee: though I must confesse I doe not know how it can be collected,

collected from Mr. *Wheelewrights* doctrin, unlesse it were by a fore- PART I.
stalled mis-apprehension and mis-application of those hearers, who were leavened with corrupt Opinions. The latter part of the testimony, "That the former Governor never stirred out, but at-"tended by the Serjants with Halberts or Carrabines, but the pre-"sent Governor was neglected: I do not remember, that ceremony was any more then once neglected: and when I heard it, I bore witnesse against it. And they excused their former observance, by the eminency of the person. But sure I am, the present Govern-or (as he well deserveth all honor from this Peopole, so) he is sel-dome or never seen in publick, but in like sort attended with Hal-berts or Carrabines.

Next, he alledgeth a testimony from the Court, which (it is like-ly) was delivered by Mr. *Winthrop*, being then Governor, *page* 35. of the short Story: "They soon profited so well, as in a few "moneths, they outwent their Teacher.

Answ. This testimony is so far from taxing mee of any horri-ble fall, that it clearly acquiteth mee from the fellowship thereof. For if they outwent their Teacher, as the Court said (and said truely:) then I went not along with them in their Tenents. And Teacher I was called, and their Teacher, as being called to that Office in that Church, whereof many of them were Members.

The next testimony (from *page* 33. of the story) expres-seth, "That upon the countenance it took from some emi-"nent Persons, her Opinions began to hold up their heads in "Courts of Justice.

Answ. This might indeed argue, that some Magistrates leaned more or lesse to that way: but it reacheth not me, who am seldome present at any Courts, but when with other Elders I am sent for. And let it not be forgotten, what I related above, that many held with those Opinionists (as they were called) when they knew of no other opinions held forth by them, but what was publickly taught in our Church: but after they were discovered to overgoe not so much their Teachers, as the truth, and that so evidently, as could clearly be convinced by the testimony of two or three wit-nesses, they were soon forsaken by those, who esteemed better of them before.

His next testimony is from the story *page* 32. "It was a "wonder, upon what a suddain, the whole Church of *Boston*

PART I. "(some few excepted) were become her new Converts, and infected with her Opinions.

"And Preface *page* 7. most of the Seducers lived in the Church "of *Boston*.

Answ. That most of the Church of *Boston* consented with Ms. *Hutchinson*, (whilst shee openly held forth no more, then what was publickly taught) is true; but nothing to prove Mr. *Cottons* horrible fall, for after shee fell into any horrible, or evident errors, it may clearly appear, the whole Church were not become her canverts, by this undenyable evidence, that the whole body of the Church (ezcept her own son) consented with one accord, to the publick censure of her, by admonition first, and excommunication after.

"But (saith Mr. *Baylie*) None of these erroneous persons were "ever called to account by the Presbytery of that Church, till "after the Assembly, though the Pastor of the Church, Mr. *Wilson* "was alwayes exceeding zealous against them.

Answ. 1. Mr. *Baylie* is mistaken, when he saith, Mr. *Wilson* was alwayes exceeding zealous against them. For the whole Church will bear him witnesse, hee was a long time full of much forbearance towards them, and thought well of them, and bare witnesse to the wayes of free Grace in such manner, as testified his good will to them and the Truth. Afterwards in some private conference, which one or more of them had with him, and (our beloved Sister) his Wife, he discerned some more rottennesse in them, and their way, then he suspected before: And after that time indeed, he grew more zealous against them, but the occasion of the offence was private, and (for a good space) unknown both to mee and the Church.

2. But why they were not called to account by the Presbytery of the Church, the reason was evident: because their grosse errors were not confirmed into us, by two or three witnesses. And this I can truely professe, That when the Elders of other Churches acquainted mee with some of their Errors, (even when the noise of them was spred far and neer:) yet they acknowledged, the Erroneous persons were so cautious, that they would never vent any grosse Errors before two witnesses. And this I can further truely avouch, that my self dealt sadly and seriously with some chief leaders of them, both by word, and writing to recover them from the Error of their way: which though they would argue

for,

for, yet they would ever excuſe themſelves from ſetling upon any ſuch things. I dealt alſo with others (whom I began to ſuſpect might be leavened by their Leaders) and earneſtly charged them to beware what Tenents they received from them, leſt by that means they might be corrupted themſelves, and their Leaders hardned. But they would not bee known to me, that they drunke in any ſuch dregs, as afterwards appeared. PART I.

His next teſtimony is taken from Ms. *Hutchinſons* ſpeach in the open Court, "Preferring my Miniſtery in holding forth free "Grace, above ſome, or moſt of the other Elders. But of the invalidity of her teſtimony in theſe things I have ſpoken, (I ſuppoſe) enough above. An evill Spirit (which ſometimes breatheth both in good and bad perſons,) may give a glorious teſtimony to ſome ſervants of God, not ſo much to honour them, or their doctrine, as either to cover themſelves under their ſhadow, or elſe (but that was not her aime) to bring them and their Doctrin into ſuſpition, and trouble, as the Spirit of the *Pythoneſſe* did to *Paul* and *Silas*, *Act.* 16,17, to 20. That ſpeach of hers, I bore witneſſe againſt it, as prejudiciall and injurious both to them and mee.

Another teſtimony hee alledgeth out of the Story, *Page* 50. "That all the Miniſters conſented in bearing ſome witneſſe "againſt Mr. *Wheelewright*, except their Brother the Teacher of "*Boſton*.

Anſw. The Story relateth thoſe words, as the ſpeach of the Elders; that they ſpeak of me, as their Brother, to wit, the brother of the Elders, leſt any ſhould miſconceive of their ſpeach, as ranking me in a Brotherhood with erroneous perſons.

That I did not conſent with the reſt of my Brethren (the Elders) in drawing the inference out of Mr. *Wheelewrights* Sermon, which they (being required) preſented to the Court, I had a twofold reaſon for it. 1. Becauſe I was not preſent with them, when they ſearched Mr. *Wheelewrights* Sermon, and gathered that inference from it.

2 Becauſe I could not ſpeake it of mine own knowledge; "That the Elders of the Country did walk in or teach ſuch "a way of Salvation, and evidencing thereof, as Mr. *Wheelewright* deſcribedeth, and accounteth to bee a Covenant of "Works.

They knew what themſelves taught in that point, better

PART I. then I. The Elders might testifie what they knew: I could not testifie, what I knew not. But it seemeth any testimonies will serve turn, when such as these are thought unavoidable, to lay me under the guilt of an horrible fall.

Yet one more remaineth, from *page* 21. "That albeit the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of these "new opinions, and Mr. *Cotton* had in publick view consented "with the rest: yet the leaders in those Erroneous wayes stood "still to maintain their New Light. Mr. *Whelewright* also continued his Preaching, and Ms. *Hutchinson* her wonted meetings: "and much offence was stil given by her, and others in going out "from the Pastors Exercise.

Answ. 1. As the Assembly of the Churches confuted and condemned those Errors, so I will not say, That the motion of confuting them (as I remember) arose from my self. And my self also had an hand in confuting such of them, as the Elders committed to my hand, as themselves took severall likewise taskes, none of us confuted all. My consent to the confutation, I have expressed above, and in what sense. What I did in publick view (as the Story expresseth it) I spake before the Lord, and from the truth of my heart.

That notwithstanding this Act of the Assembly against the Errors, the leaders still stood to maintain their way, it was because the Assembly did not fasten these Errors upon any Persons either in our own, or other Churches. And what corrupt opinions were maintained by our Members, it was done in private, and not before such witnesses, as might reach to publick conviction.

Mr. *Whelewrights* continuance in his preaching, was 8. or 9. miles distance from us. And having been put into that place before by the Church, whilst the Farmers there belonged to our Church, (which by reason of the distance, wee soon after dismissed into a Church-estate amongst themselves) wee that were Elders could not (if wee would) discharge him from that worke, without the consent of the Church. But though hee gave some offence in some passages at the Assembly, (which hee since upon further conference and consideration retracted:) yet neither the Church, nor my self (notwithstanding those unsafe expressions) did ever look at him, either as an Antinomian or Familist. Many of us knew that hee had taken good paines against both, and in that very place, where hee was wont to preach; insomuch that

one

one of his hearers (who since joyned to Mr. *Gortons* society) openly contested against his doctrine as false and Antichristian. And when Mr. *Wheelewright* was put out of this Countrey (though hee be since restored) yet if hee had cleaved to the Errors which Ms. *Hutchinsons* company fell into, he would never have refused their earnest invitation and call of him, to Minister unto them. They sent to him, and urged him much to come to them, to a far richer soyle, and richer company then where hee lived: yet hee constantly refused, and upon that very ground, because of the corruption of their judgments: "Professing often, whilst they plead- "ed for the Covenant of Grace, they took away the Grace of "the Covenant. PART I.

Ms. *Hutchinsons* continuance of her weekly meetings we could not proceed to the suppression thereof, with consent of the Church, before wee received the conviction of her personall Errors, which shee still closely carryed, till after her civill censure. And then shee declared her self more plainly, and witnesses arose more fully, and the Church proceeded against her accordingly.

The going of her self and others out of the Congregation when our Pastor began to Exercise, though many feared it was a turning their backs upon his Ministery: yet the most of them were women, and they pretended many excuses for their going out, which it was not easie to convince of falshood in them, or of their contempt of him.

But in fine, when her Antinomian and Familisticall Errors were held forth by her before sufficient witnesses, our Church (as I said before) proceeded without delay, first, to admonish her according to the rule, *Tit.* 3. 10, 11. Afterwards when upon serious paines taken with her, Mr. *Davenport*, and my self (as wee thought) had convinced her of her erroneous wayes in judgment and practice, so as that under her hand, shee presented a Recantation before the whole Church, (indeed before many Churches then assembled at *Boston*) yet withall, (after some passages of speach) "Professing that shee never was of any other judg- "ment, then what she now held forth, so many witnesses forthwith rose up to convince the contrary, that with common consent both of the Elders and Brethren of our Church, shee was cast out of our Communion.

And now that (by the help of Christ) I have perused all the

PART I. testimonies, which Mr. *Baylie* hath alledged to convince me of an horrible fall into Antinomianism, and Familism, I desire him in the fear of God to consider, whether any or all these testimonies severally or jointly, will amount to make good such grievous scandalls, as hee hath charged upon mee. Which if they neither will, nor can reach unto, let him remember his promise in his Epistle Dedicatory, "That in all which he hath said over and a-"bove (just testimony) he will undertake to give ample satisfa-"ction, wherein so ever he hath given the least offence to any. Meane while the Lord lay not this sin to his charge.

SECT. 14. *Of* Cottons *humiliation upon his former fall, as is reported by Mr.* Baylie.

But yet let me adde a word more, to a word of Mr. *Baylies* in his entrance of this discourse of my Antinomianism, and Familism, which may else leave an impression upon the minds of some Reader, as if I had acknowledged this my dangerous fal, and had been much humbled for it.

"This other more dangerous fall (saith hee) as it hath already "much humbled his Spirit, and opened his eare to instruction, "and I trust will not leave working, till it have brought him "yet nearer to his Brethren: so to the worlds end, it cannot but "be a matter of fear and trembling to all, who shall know it, and "of abundant caution, to bee very wary of receiving any singula-"rity from his hand, without due tryall.

Answ. 1. Suppose all this were true *in terminis*, as Mr. *Baylie* hath expressed it, yet this were no impeachment at all to the doctrin and practice of that (which hee calleth) our Independent Church way; nor is it any just ground of caution to bee wary of receiving my testimony to it. *Peters* dangerous and dreadfull fall into the denyall of Christ, (though hee seemed to be a pillar) was no impeachment, but advancement to Christianity. And if my fall were so dangerous, walking in this Church-way, and stumbling so foully in it, the greater Grace and witnesse from heaven was upon his Churches in this way, who by the blessing of God were instruments of recovering me out of this fall, even by a consultatory conference in a Synod, which did not assume to themselves any power of Church-censures. Let mee be accounted to have fallen, and to have fallen (as Mr. *Baylie* representeth it) horribly,

horribly, so that the truth and wayes of Christ may stand and find free passage. PART I.

Neither is this fall of mine such a just ground of caution (as he would make it) unto any, to bee very wary of receiving my testimony to this Church way. For the way is no way of singularity from my hand, but that which the body of the rest of my Brethren, and of the Churches in this Country doe walk in with mee.

Answ. 2. But yet, let not Mr. *Baily* make further speech or use of my humiliation, then was performed, or intended by me. For God hath not given mee to this day (upon my best search) to discerne any such dangerous fall into Antinomianisme, or Familisme, as either hath, or might much humble my spirit.

It is true, my spirit had much cause to be humbled, (and so through mercy it was) upon many just occasions at that time. As first, that so many Erroneous and Heretical opinions should be broached in the Country, and carried on with such Arrogancy, and Censoriousnesse, and guile of spirit.

Secondly, That the principall offenders in this kind were members of our own Church, and some of them such as had neer relation to my self.

Thirdly, that my self should be so sleepy and invigilant, as that these (not Tares onely, but Bryers) should be sowen in our Field, and my self not discerne them, till sundry persons up and down the Countrey were leavened by them.

Fourthly, that such as endeavoured the healing of these distempers, did seeme to me to be transported with more jealousies, and heates, and paroxysmes of spirit, then would well stand with brotherly love, or the rule of the Gospel.

The bitter fruits whereof doe remaine to this day, in the Letters sent over that year from hence to *England*. Whence also it came to passe finally, that in the course taken for the clensing of Gods Field, it seemed to me, that some good Wheat was pluckt up with the Tares, some simple hearted honest men, and some truths of God, fared the worse for the resemblance which the tares bare to them.

Upon all which grounds, my self with our whole Church thought it needfull to set a day apart for publick humiliation before the Lord, wherein these and the like, both in Prayer and Preaching, were opened more at large before the Lord and his people.

But

PART I. But all this will not amount to make good Mr. *Baylies* word, "That my dangerous fall into Antinomianisme and Familisme "hath much humbled my Spirit.

Nor can I say (as he doth) that it hath opened mine eares to instruction. For I doe not know, that they have been shut to it, when I discerned the Spirit, and Word of truth breathing in it.

Nor can I say after him, "That the humbling of my spirit for "those dangerous errours, will not leave working till it have "brought me yet nearer to my brethren.

For though I blesse the Lord, who hath brought me nearer to my brethren, and them also nearer to me, which I trust will still grow whilst our selves grow (in all the duties of brotherly love, wherein we have much sweet and frequent intercourse:) yet I doe not interpret this as the fruit of my spirits humiliation for my Antinomy, and Familisme: but as the fruit of our clearer apprehension, both of the cause and of the state of our differences, and of our joynt consent and concurrence in bearing witnesse against the common heresies, and errors of Antinomianisme, and Familisme, which disturbed us all.

But Mr. *Baily* as he began his discourse of my dangerous fall with relation of my humiliation for it: so hee shutteth it up, *pag.* 58. with a like close of my griefe of mind, and confusion for it.

"I have been informed (saith he) by a gratious Preacher who "was present at the Synod in *New-England*, that all the Bre-"thren there, being exceedingly scandalized with Mr. *Cottons* "carriage, in Mistris *Hutchinsons* processe, did so farre discoun-"tenance, and so severely admonish him, that hee was thereby "brought to the greatest shame, confusion and griefe of mind, "that ever in all his life he had endured.

Answ. 1. I conceive it is not allowable in Presbyteriall discipline, (sure I am, not in Congregationall) that an accusation shall be received against an Elder under one witnesse, though he gratious and a Preacher: especially when this gratious Preacher is nameless, and his testimony hovereth in generalities, without instance in particular offences: as "That all the Brethren were "exceedingly scandalized with Mr. *Cottons* carriage in Mistris *Hutchinsons* processe, but not expressing what carriage, nor what processe, nor wherein they were scandalized.

"And

"And that all the Brethren did so far discountenance him, "and severely admonish him, as that he was thereby brought to "the greatest shame, and confusion, and grief of minde, that e-"ver in all his life he endured. But no mention for what offence they did so severely admonish him, nor wherein they did so farre discountenance him.

Such words of infamy, and reproach may passe for Table talke, (which yet morall Philosophy would not approve:) but surely in orderly Church-Discipline, such dealing could not passe without just reproof, unlesse there were too much prejudice or partiality, the rule is plain and obvious, and not now the first time violated in the Disswasive, 2 *Tim.* 5.19.

Answ. 2. I must (as justly I may) protest against that testimony, not onely as violating the rule of Love, but of Truth also. For,

1. It is untrue, that all the Brethren were scandalized with my carriage, much lesse exceedingly scandalized at the Synod, or in any processe about Ms. *Hutchinson*. There were sundry godly brethren otherwise minded, and otherwise affected.

2. It is untrue also, that such as were scandalized, did so severely admonish me, or discountenance me; for I can neither call to mind any such deep discountenance, nor any such severe admonition of Brethren, and yet I had reason to know it, and to remember it well, as well as any Brother at the Synod: the matter so neerly concerning my self, and more neerly and deeply, then any man else.

3. It is most untrue, that I was so far discountenanced, "and "so severely admonished, as that I was brought to the greatest "shame, confusion and grief of mind, that ever in all my life I "had endured.

I should have little comfort in my own spirit, to look either God or man in the face, "if the discountenance or admonition "of men (especially for such carriage) were the greatest shame, "and confusion, and grief of mind, that ever in all my life I had endured. The rebukes of God upon the soule for sin will put a man to far greater shame, and confusion and grief of mind, then any discountenance, or admonition from Brethren, (especially for such offences) *Psal.* 76.7. But whatsoever discountenance, or dis-respect I met withall, from one hand or other, till the true state of my judgment, and carriage was clearly manifested, I have

PART I. long agoe left with the Lord: But I conceive I have met with more hard measure in Letters to *England*, and in ungrounded reports there, then ever I found from the admonition, or discountenance of any brethren here.

SECT. 15. *Of the shamefull absurdities said to be found in the way of Independency: notwithstanding the great helps, to prevent, or cover it: and first, of those helps.*

Mr. *Baylie* now undertaketh to prove that which he calleth a broad Assertion, and well may hee so call it: for it reacheth far beyond all dimensions of truth. His assertion is, "That the way "(which he calleth) Independency hath in a few years (lesse then "one week of yeares), flown out into more shamefull absurdi- "ties, then the Brownists to this day, in all their 50. yeares try- "all have stumbled upon.

How will Mr. *Baylie* (think you) make this good?

His affirmation, that the way of Brownisme, and Independency (as he styleth them) are both of them really one and the same, because he saith, it will appeare hereafter, I referre it therefore to his place.

But before hee cometh to make his broad assertion good, yea and (as he promiseth) palpable, he maketh it also by the way, admirable, and that many wayes.

"1. In that Independency hath beene brought to the ut- "most pitch of perfection, which the wit, and industry of its best "Patrons were able to attain: and hath been fenced with the "Laws of gracious Magistrates, who were at our absolute devo- "tion, and yet hath flowen out, &c.

Answ. 1. We that judge that way (which he calleth Independency) to be of God, should account it blasphemy in our selves to accept such a style put upon us, as to be the best Patrons of it. We doe verily believe, that though our selves, all of us, should imploy our best wits and industry to joyn with Mr. *Baylie* to subvert and deface it: yet the Lord Jesus would show himself a Patron to maintain his own Institutions, though with the confusion of the faces, and enterprizes of us all. The Word which hath gone out of his mouth for the Government and ordering of his Church till

till his second appearing, he himself as he hath spoken it, will also shew it forth in his times, who is the blessed and onely Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, 1 *Tim.*6.14,15. PART I.

Answ. 2. Wee cannot but with thankfulnesse acknowledge the goodnesse of God in our gratious Magistrates, and their assistance to us in the work of the Lord: But when Mr. *Baylie* maketh them to be at our absolute devotion, his ὑπερβολὴ is too too injurious in debasing them, and (in their eyes) advancing us. For neither are they devoted to us at all, nor much lesse absolutely. Though they sometimes consult with us in matters of conscience; yet they take our counsell no further then they see it cleared from the Word. And besides, it is too vast an advancement of us, to make them absolutely of our devotion. For devotion in matters of Religion, (or as *Thomas* speaketh, *in iis quæ ad Dei cultum, & famulatum pertinent*) is a divine worship due to God onely; in as much that *Aquinas* taketh it to be too high a worship to be terminated in Saints, 22ª. *Quest.*82. *Art.* 2. And yet he alloweth more divine worship to Saints, then any orthodox protestant can excuse from Idolatry.

Againe secondly, " It may seeme to make the palpableness of " our outflowings the more admirable, in that (as he saith) " much of our way is yet in the dark.

Thirdly, " In that none of our selves have proclaimed our " discords to our own shame.

Fourthly, " That none who have fallen from us, have of pur- " pose put pen to Paper, to informe the world of our wayes.

Fiftly, " That none of us have been willing to reply to any " of the books written against us, &c.

Answ. It were much I confesse, if wee had all these advantages of concealement which he mentioneth, and yet nevertheless so many, and so shamefull absurdities of ours should fall out in so short a time, and become so palpable as Mr. *Baily* proclaimeth them. But the truth is, neither have we had those advantages, (he speaketh of:) but the contrary disadvantages, nor yet do we feare, that he will be able to find such absurdities to have fallen out in our way, much lesse so shamefull.

For first, the way of the New English Churches is not in the dark, but published to the view of the world, in the book so entituled (refuted by Mr. *Rutherford*:) as also in the Apology of these Churches, in the Covenant, in the Answer to 32. Questi-

PART I. ons; in another answer to 9. Questions; in the answer to Mr. *Herle*, and to Mr. *Rathbone*. Some of our most populous Churches do no Church Act, no not of discipline, but in the presence of the whole Towne, (non-members, as well as members) so many of them as are pleased to be present. Wayes of truth seeke no corners; if any Church admonish a brother privately, it is because his offence is not known to non-members.

Againe, if in our discords, none of us have proclaimed our shame, whence hath Mr. *Baily* gathered all our shamefull absurdities? The short story, (the greatest storehouse of his testimonies) what is it, but a fruit of our discords? Besides, if none that have fallen from us, have of purpose put pen to Paper to informe the world of our wayes, what meane the bleatings of Plaine dealing, and Mr. *Williams* his Invectives against us, which yeeld a further supply to Mr. *Bailies* testimonies?

Moreover, if none of us have been willing to reply to the Books written against us, how come it to passe that Mr. *Hooker* hath written a large answer to Mr. *Rutherford*, Mr. *Davenport* to Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Mader* to Mr. *Rathbone*, Mr. *Shepard* and Mr. *Allen* to Mr. *Ball*, Mr. *Norton* in Latine to Mr. *Appollonii*; my self to Mr. *Williams*, both to his examination of my Letter, and to his bloody Tenent? If any of these have miscarried by the way, or in *England* have met with a suppression for an impression, it cannot be said, "that none of us have been willing to reply to "the Books written against us, nor that wee have been wanting in endeavours, according as the Lord hath vouchsafed us meanes and opportunitie.

If still there be other Books written against us, unto which no Reply is yet made, it may be considered, our labourers (in that kind) are few, our hands feeble, our times took up with the duties of our calling, helpes to ease us are wanting, Domesticall Questions are not wanting, and many times Books are extant against us some yeers before they come to our hands. And yet let not Mr. *Baily* take our silence for a consent to what is written against us: or for a signe of our feare to lay open the true state of our cause, or the nakednesse of our way, (as it seemeth to him:) but let him consider, that if many Books be written by severall hands, of severall subjects against any of us, hee whom it concerneth, cannot Reply to them all at once, but to one after another, as the Lord giveth help and opportunity.

SECT.

PART I.

SECT. 16. *Of the first absurdity said to be found in our way of Independency.*

"But what may bee those shamefull absurdities, which in "lesse then one week of yeares, wee have flowen out into more "then (those hee calleth) Brownists in 50. yeares of their "tryall.

"The fruits of our Church-way, (saith he) are first, the hold-"ing out of all our Churches and Christian Congregation ma-"ny thousands of People, who in former time have been reputed "in *Old-England* very good Christians.

"And this (saith hee) seemeth a grievous absurdity, a great dis-"honour to God, and cruelty against men to spoile so many "thousand Christians, whom they dare not deny to be truely "religious of all the priviledges of the Church, either to them-"selves, or to their children, or put them into the condition of "Pagans, &c.

Answ. 1. If all this were true, yet it is no greater an absurdity then that wherein those whom hee calleth Brownists, have not onely stumbled upon, but professedly walked in: yea it may be, denying Church Communion to as many Churches as wee doe to persons in this Countrey. And this Mr. *Baylie* hath taxed them for, above in *page* 27. of his Book, though here hee forget it.

Answ. 2. It is not true, that wee hold out any at all, English or Indian, out of our Christian Congregations. All without exception are allowed to be present, at our publick Prayers and Psalmes, at our reading of the Scriptures, and the preaching and expounding of the same, and also at the admitting of Members, and dispensing of seales and censures.

Answ. 3. It is not truly spoken, that wee hold out of all our "Churches many thousands of People, who in former times "have been reputed in *Old England* very good Christians, and "whom our selves dare not deny to be truely religious.

I dare be bold to speak it, wee hold not out any one such: but if any such be held out, we hold not off from them, but they from us: yea we seriously invite them (publickly and privately) to joyne with us: unlesse such religious persons lye under some scandall of corrupt life, or Doctrin.

PART I. How then will Mr. *Baylie* make good (that which he truely calleth) his broad assertion? yes, he undertaketh to make it good by three testimonies.

" 1. Saith hee, wee have heard sundry to esteeme the number " of the English in that Plantation to exceed 40000. men and " women. But when Mr. *Cotton* is put to it, he dareth hardly a- " vow the one half of these to be Members of any Church.

And to prove this, he quoteth (in P.) the answer to the 23. questions, *page* 7.

Whereto the Reply is ready, 1. Mr. *Baylie* is mistaken, if hee think the answer to the 32. questions was penned by me. Those questions were sent by some Ministers in *Lancashire* or *Cheshire* to one of their Country men, (a reverend Brother, and fellow-Elder amongst us) Mr. *Mader*: who to satisfie their desires returned them that answer, which (it seemeth) hath since been printed. Which I speak not, because I wave the answer, for when he wrote it, he wrote advisedly, and as his whole answer is solid, and judicious; so is his answer, to the question put to him, pertinent and full: but to Mr. *Baylies* Assertion, it cometh nothing neer it. But Mr. *Baylie* should have done well, to have taken his full answer to that question. " The New-English Plantations are scattered a- " bove two hundreth Miles in length upon the Sea Coasts: & of " what they did in those remote Plantations, he could not then " give present account. But (saith Mr. *Mader*) in the Churches " within the *Bay*, where most of us are best acquainted, we may " truely say, that for the heads of Families those that are ad- " mitted, are far more in number then the other, besides whom " there are sundry children and servants, that are admitted also.

" And for the reasons (saith he) why many are not yet receiv- " ved to Church-Communion, they be sundry:

" 1. Sundry are new come over, and so are not yet knowen.

" 2. Sundry when they come to be knowen are found scan- " dalous.

3. Some godly persons forbear to joyn with us for a time, till " they may try, which Church and Ministery they can best close " withall.

" 4. Those that are knowen to be godly (I may adde, though " but in judgment of charity) they are all admitted to some " Church or other, presently upon their own desire, unlesse they " have given some offence, which also is removed upon their gi- " ving due satisfaction.

This

This testimony will will not reach (nothing neere) Mr. *Baylies* assertion, "That wee hold out of all Churches many thousands "of people, who were well reputed of in *Old England*, for very "good Christians, and such as our selves dare not deny to bee "truely religious. PART I.

2. His second testimony is from Mr. *Lechford*, who styleth his Book against the Country, Plain dealing. And what saith he? In his *page* 72. "Here are (saith he) such confessions, and professions "required both of men, and women, both in private and pub-"lick, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of "the Countrey remain out of the Church, so that in short time, "most of the people will remain unbaptized.

Answ. The Book is unfitly called plaine dealing, which (in respect of many passages in it) might rather be called false and fraudulent. I forbear to speak of the man himself, because soon after the publishing of that Book, himself was called away out of the world to give account of his Book and whole life before the highest Judge. He was indeed himself not received into the Fellowship of the Church, for his professed Errors: as 1. That the Antichrist described in the Revelation was not yet come, nor any part of that Prophesie yet fulfilled from the 4. chapter to the end. 2. That the Apostolick function was not yet ceased: but that there still ought to be such, who should by their transcendent authority govern al Churches. To reclaim him from these Errors, he was seriously dealt withall both in conference, and (according to his desire) in writing. But when hee saw, he could not defend the latter Error, but by building again the Bishops, against whom he had witnessed (as he said) in soliciting the cause of Mr. *Prynne*, he rather then he would revoke his present tenent, acknowledged he was then in an Error, when he took part with Mr. *Prynne*, & Mr. *Burton*, & therefore he would now return to *England* again, to reduce those famous witnesses from the Error of their way. And accordingly, away he went: but see the wise hand of God disappointing his ends; When he came to *England* the Bishops were falling, so that he lost his friends, and hopes both in *Old-England* and *New*: yet put out his Book (such as it is) and soon after dyed. By the way, let no man think, he was kept out of our Churches, for maintaining the authority of Bishops. For we have in our Churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall, or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall Government,

PART I. Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel. Neither do we disturbe such, nor they us in our communion with them. But to returne to Mr. *Lechfords* plain dealing: that which he testifieth, neither is it true; neither if it were, doeth it reach Mr. *Baylies* assertion.

It is not true, that three parts of the Countrey remaine out of the Church, if he meane three parts of foure, no though hee should take in those remote *English*, who live a score of miles or more from any Church.

But were his speech more true, then it is, yet it will not make good Mr. *Baylies* assertion, unlesse those three parts of the Countrey, which (he saith) "remaine out of the Church, were re- "puted in old *England* for very good Christians, nor durst our "selves deny them to be truely religious, to which this testimony alledged giveth no evidence at all.

Mr. *Baylies* third testimony is from Mr. *Williams*, whom hee calleth one of us, "who maketh such Protestants to be Heathens "and publicans, who depart from the Beast in a false constitu- "tion of Nationall Churches, if the bodies of Protestant Na- "tions remaine in an unregenerate estate.

Answ. I know not, why Mr. *Baylie* should call Mr. *Williams* one of us, who renounceth our Churches, and is himself cast out both of Church-fellowship, and civill cohabitation with us.

His testimony, which Mr. *Baylie* quoteth out of him, "of the "estate of all such Protestants, as live in a Nationall Church "estate, as if Christ did account them Heathens and Publicans.

I say no more to it but this, they may be so accounted by Mr. *Williams*, but wee doe not beleeve they are so accounted of by Christ, but many thousands of them to be pretious Saints in the eyes of the Lord Jesus.

To these testimonies, Mr. *Baylie* interserteth his own testimony and others of his judgement, "It seemeth to us (saith he) "a grievous absurdity, a great dish nor to God, and cruelty "against men to spoyle so many thousand Christians, whom "wee dare not deny to be truely Religious, of all the Priviledges "of the Church, &c.

Answ. 1. It is not enough, that wee dare not deny men to bee truely Religious: but it were meet we should know them, at least, conceive good hope, they are truely Religious, (at least in the judgement of charity) before wee receive them into the Church.

And

And of ſuch there are not many thouſands, no nor many ſcores, no nor any ſcores, whom wee dare ſpoile of Church priviledges, unleſſe their own offence, or choice ſpoyle them. PART I.

Secondly, if men be not Religious, no not ſo much as in profeſſion, why ſhould it be accounted a grievous abſurdity, not to receive them into the Church? A thing is abſurd, which is ἄτοπον out of place. Are men who are not ſpirituall, out of their place, when they are not placed in a ſpirituall ſociety? If the Churches be (as Chriſt deſcribeth them) golden Candleſticks (*Revel.* 1.20.) is Tinne and Lead out of place, when it is not ſodered into a Golden veſſell? Sure God himſelfe thought otherwiſe, *Iſay* 1.25. But is it not rather a grievous abſurditie, and farre out of place, when ſuch are admitted to the Lords Table, who either diſcerne not the Lords Body, or if they be admitted to drink his Blood, will be ready when they are got into the Field to ſpill the innocent blood of thoſe Roundheads, whom they lately partaked withall at the Lords Table?

And as for the great diſhonour to God, (which Mr. *Baylie* imputeth to this way of ours) Is it a diſhonour to God, that ſuch are withheld from the Lords Table, by whom the name of God is diſhonoured either through their ignorance or ſcandall?

Is it not rather a great diſhonour to God, to ſet up Chriſt a viſible head of ſuch members, by whom his name is evill ſpoken of? And what cruelty is it againſt men, to keep ſuch from eating and drinking the Lords Supper, who would eate and drink it unworthily, and ſo eate and drinke their own damnation? 1 *Cor.* 11. 29. The Lord himſelfe thought it no cruelty to debarre our firſt parents from the Tree of life, who if they had found free libertie to eate it, would have bleſſed themſelves in a falſe hope of living for ever? *Gen.*3.22,23.

SECT. 17. *Of the ſecond ſhamefull abſurditie ſaid to be found in our way of Independency.*

Come we now to a ſecond ſhamefull abſurditie, which he maketh to be another fruit of our Church-way.

"That it hath exceedingly hindred the converſion of the "poor Pagans. The principles and practiſe of Independents "doth croſſe this work and hope of it. What have they to do "with thoſe that are without? Their Paſtors preach not for

PART I. "conversion: their Relation is to their flock, who are Church-
"members, converted already to their hand by the labours of
"other men, before they can be admitted into their Church.
"Of all that ever crossed the *American* Seas, they are noted as
"most neglectfull of the work of Conversion. I have read of
"none of them, that seeme to have minded this matter.

Answ. This is indeed a shamefull absurditie, if it be true: but a sinfull and shamefull calumny, if it be false. As indeed false it is in every branch of it. First, there is no principle or allowed practise of ours that doth hinder (much lesse exceedingly hinder) the work or hope of the conversion of the Natives: though wee professe we have nothing to do to censure *Indians*, and so to judge them that are without; yet wee think it a principall (though not the only) work and duty of our Ministry to attend the work of conversion, both of carnall *English*, and other Nations, whether Christian, or Pagan. The neglect of it, we look at as an ungratious and uncharitable fancy. How shall men (ordinarily) be converted to the faith without hearing? and how shall they heare without preaching? and how shall they preach, unlesse they be sent? and who are now sent, but Pastors and Teachers?

"But the Relation of our Pastors is to their Flock? What then? May there not fall out to be Hypocrites in our Flock? and must wee not preach for their conversion? And are not the children of the Members of our Church, many of them such, as when they grow up stand in need of converting grace? and must wee not preach for their conversion? Besides, when an Infidell or unbeleever commeth into the Church, doe not all the Prophets that preach the Word, (and among them, surely the Pastors and Teachers are not the least) do they not all apply their speech to his conviction and conversion? 1 *Cor.* 14.24,25. What though a Pastour bee a Feeder to his Flock already begotten unto God? Yet he may (and ought to endeavour to) become a Father also in Christ, to such as are yet unregenerate, whether of his Flock, or out of his Flock. To turne many to righteousnesse is prophesied of, to bee the work of the המשכילים of the New Testament, *Dan.* 12.3. "But our Church-members
"are converted already to our hands by the labours of other
"men, before they can be admitted into our Church.

So saith Mr. *Baylie* indeed: but if hee were here, hee would soon heare many of those who are admitted into our Churches, openly

openly acknowledge, the first work of saving grace to have been wrought in their hearts by the ministery of the Word here, and sometime by the same, or like ministery in our Native Countrey. And the children of the faithfull borne, and baptized in our Churches, will acknowledge no other Ministery, by whom they have beleeved, but that which they have attended upon, here. PART I.

"But (saith Mr. *Baylie*) I have read of none of them that "seeme to have minded the matter of conversion.

Answ. 1. What if he have not read, what we preach here of conversion? Doth hee thinke it meet, wee should print all the Sermons wee preach? What if any of us should say, I have not read of any *Scottish* Minister who have published any of their labours in that argument, (save Mr. *Rollock*, and him in Latine, and that haply in the Schooles, and many have not seene him neither:) shall we therefore thinke it credible, that so many holy faithfull labourers in Christs Vineyard in that whole Nation, doe not seeme to minde the matter of conversion?

But whether he have read of any of our books of that Subject, or no, surely it is not, becaus none of such are extant to bee read. He may read when he pleaseth Mr. *Shepards* two Treatises, one stiled The sincere Convert, the other The sound Beleever, besides sundry Treatises of Mr. *Hooker* touching the Soules Preparation to Christ, Effectuall Calling, and Justification, &c. and when he hath read them, let him then tell the world, whether of all that have crossed the *American* Seas (as hee speaketh) the Ministers of this way have been justly noted to be most neglectfull of the work of conversion. Yea let me make bold in Gods feare to pray Mr. *Baylie*, and those others, who have noted us as most neglectfull of this work, to enquire and consider whether among all the servants of Christ now living in any reformed Churches (put them all together) they have published so many Treatises of the work of conversion, as the Ministers of this way have done, in *New-England*, and *London*, which I speak not (the Lord is witnesse to my soule) out of carnall Arrogancy to boast of our labours, in so holy and weighty an Argument: but out of conscience to beare witnesse to the way of Gods truth against such an unjust & unworthy scandall. But when I speak of these Treatises of Conversion, I do not include all that are written under the glorious and fallacious stiles of Free Grace, and Gospel-Truth, which nevertheless doe but indeed lay the Leaven of Arminian-

PART I. universall-free Grace, and Antinomian Impenitency: but I speak of those Treatises which are pure from such Leaven, as keeping the patterne of wholesome words and sound doctrin, dividing the Word of truth aright, in the right use of the Law and Gospel, wherein though they sometime declare such works of Grace to be preparations to conversion, which others do take to be fruits of conversion: yet they all agree in this, that such works are found in all that are under the powerfull and effectuall saving work of the Spirit, and Word of Christ, and in none else, which is the light and life of the Saints in Christ Jesus.

I will not here speak of the conversion of *Weaquash*, which (as I heare) is published in a little Script, intituled, *New-Englands* First-fruits. Nor would I have mentioned the endeavours of some of our fellow-Brethren here, to helpe forward the work of conversion in *Virginia*, were it not that the blessing of the Lord Jesus upon their labours doth call for acknowledgment. Some honest minded people in *Virginia* discerning their want of spirituall Ministery, sent earnest Letters, and one or more messengers, to the Elders of these Churches here for some of our Ministers to break the Bread of Life to them. The Elders here seeking Counsell of God, and one of another, wee borrowed two of the Pastors of our Churches, (Mr. *Knolles* of *Watertowne*, and Mr. *Thomson* of *Braintree*, the Churches being either of them supplyed with two Ministers apeece) and sent them forth solemnely in the Name of the Lord to that work; who as they went along took with them one Mr. *James*, a Minister (though then out of employment) from *New-Haven*, to the fellowship of that work. And for their better incouragement, our Governour here wrote a Letter to the Governour of *Virginia* to acquaint him, and his Assistants, with the occasion and end of their comming, and expressed withall his desire of their Christian entertainment for a time, and peaceable returne, if they found any inconvenience by their comming. What entertainement they found from the major part of the Government there, I forbeare to speak. The bloody Massacre, which soon after their dismission, the *Indians* in those parts executed upon the *English*, cried aloud from heaven, that after a white Horse, God is wont to send forth a red, *Rev.* 6. 2,3,4. But nevertheless, God so farre forth followed their labours with his blessing in the work of conversion, that sundry of them were effectually wrought

wrought upon by the power of the Lord Jesus; whereof some of them came along with our Ministers at their returne, and are received into our Churches: others of them who could not so well dispose of their affaires there, joyned with one Mr. *Harrison* a Minister there, (who was also mightily stirred up by our Ministers comming:) and they with him have since given up themselves to more holy communion and conversation before the Lord. PART I.

Others of the Westerne Islands (as *Barbadas*, *Antegua*, *Mevis*) have desired the like helpe from us: but the departure of some of our Ministers since, (one to Heaven, others to *England*) have hitherto detained us from opportunity to afford unto them the like succour for the present.

I will not speak, what opportunity of reaching forth a blessing to the *Indians* in this kind, God hath lately begun to open us a door of: in that divers of their *Sachims*, and *Sagamores* (as they call them, to wit, their Governors) have submitted themselves to the government of the *English*, and have willingly subjected themselves to the acceptance of the Ten Commandements, though some of them, doe most stick at the seventh Commandement, as it forbiddeth Polygamy. Nevertheless otherwise they willingly consent to abandon Adultery and Fornication, and unnaturall lusts.

But though the *Indians* have been slow to learne our language, especially in matters of Religion (howsoever in Trading they soon understood us:) yet wee have often offered to bring up their *Indian* children in our Schooles, that they might learne to speake to their Countreymen in their own language. But because that might prove long, one of our Elders (Mr. *Eliot*, the Teacher of the Church of *Rocksbury*) hath (with the consent of the Natives) preached to them first by an Interpreter, but since having with much industry learned their language, hee now preacheth to two Congregations of them in their own language weekly. One week on the fourth day to one Congregation, who sit down neer to *Dorchester Mill*, and another week, on the sixth day, to another Congregation of them, who sit down in *Cambridge*, neer *Watertown Mill*. To ease and encourage him in his work, the Ministers of neighbour Churches take off by turnes his weekly Lecture on the third day. The fruit hitherto hath been, the *Indians* resort more and more to these Assemblies,

PART I. heare with reverence and attention, reforme (and make Lawes amongst themselves, for reformation of) sundry abuses, aske sundry questions for their instruction, and among the rest, an old Counsellor of one of their *Sagamores* enquired, if it might bee possible that our God, and our Christ should accept an old sinner such as himselfe? Mr. *Eliot* answered him, "yes, there was hope, "because hee never had the meanes of the knowledge of God "offered to him before. And our Saviour Christ did sometimes "call into his Vineyard some to doe him service, even in the "last houre of the day, in the last part of their lives. And the "old *Indian* being demanded if hee understood this? Hee answered, yea, saith he, I understand it, and beleeve it.

It is true, there may be doubt that for a time there will bee no great hope of any Nationall conversion, till Antichrist be ruined, and the Jewes converted; becaus the Church (or Temple) of God, is said to bee filled with smoak, till the seven plagues (which are to be poured upon the Antichristian state) be fulfilled: And till then, no man (that is, no considerable number of men out of the Church, as Pagans be) shall be able to enter into the Church, *Rev.* 15. 8. yet nevertheless, that hindreth not, but that some sprinklings, & gleanings of them may be brought home to Christ, as now and then some Proselytes were brought into the fellowship of the Church of *Israel*, when there was a greater partition wall set up between Jewes and Gentiles, then now there is between Christians and Pagans. And the Lord shine upon them in mercy, in blessing the meanes of his Grace to them in the Lord Jesus.

The proof that none of us seeme to have minded the work of conversion, Mr. *Baylie* alledgeth out of the Book intituled Plain dealing, which saith, "There hath not been sent forth any, by a-"ny Church, to learn the Natives-Language, or to instruct them "in our Religion first, becaus they say they have not to do with "them being without, except they come to hear and learne En-"glish.

An. 1. What if there have not bin any sent forth by any Church to learn the *Indians* language? That will not argue our neglect of minding the work of their conversion. For there be of the *Indians* that live amongst us, and dayly resort to us; and some of them learne our language; and some of us learn theirs. And men that love the Lord Jesus doe gladly take opportunity to instruct them

them in our Religion, and to teach them both Law and Gospell. PART I.
And of late, the Word (as I have said) is publickly preached unto them in two severall *Indian* Congregations, though wee never thought it fit to send any of our English to live amongst them, to learn their language: for who should teach them?

Answ. 2. When the Authors of Plain Dealing saith, "We have "not instructed them in our Religion, upon this pretence, be- "cause wee say, we have not to doe with them being without, ex- "cept they come to hear and learn English.

I know not whether ever any gave him so weake an account or no: If any so did, it was his rashnesse, or ignorance both of us, and the truth. But if the Author speake it, as a Point of our Profession or practise, that we doe neglect the instruction of the *Indians*, and especially upon such a reasonlesse reason, I will say no more to it but this, it seemeth there are two sorts of Plain dealing: Plain honest dealing, and Plain false dealing, of which latter sort, this speach is.

But Mr. *Baylie* acknowledgeth Mr. *Williams* his endeavours in this kind, but doth thereby the more aggravate our corrupt principles and practise, who have neglected so great an opportunity as to prosecute his course. Onely Mr. *Williams* (saith hee) did as- "say, what could be done with those desolate soules, and by "little experience quickly found a wonderfull great facility to "gain thousands of them to so much and more Christianity "both in profession and practice, then in the most of our people "doth appeare.

"But the unhappinesse of these principles whereof wee speak, "did keep him (as hee professeth) from making use of that "great opportunity, and large doore, which the Lord there hath "opened to all who will bee zealous of propagating the Go- "spell.

Answ. 1. If Mr. *Williams* his speech of the wonderfull great facility hee had of gaining so farre upon the *Indians*, be not too too prodigally hyperbolicall (as I much fear it is) I thinke his sinne is so much the greater before the Lord, that he did neglect to take the opportunitie of preaching to them the Word of the Lord, that they might have been brought on, not onely to an Antichristian conversion (such as hee maketh the conversion of the common sort of Christians in Protestant Churches:) but to a sincere conversion unto Christ Jesus. But I confesse with Mr.

Baylie

PART I. *Baylie*, his own corrupt Principles, (his own I say, not ours) it seemeth have detained him from putting forth his hand to the Lords Plough in so large a Field. For if hee look (as it seemeth) for new Apostles to be sent immediately from Christ for such a work: or if hee think, no Church is, or will be extant upon the face of the earth, till Antichrist bee abolished out of the world, these and such like principles are enough, not onely to retard him from the planting of Churches amongst *Indians*, but also to further him in supplanting all the Churches of Christ in Christendome.

Answ. 2. I said not without cause, that I feared Mr. *Williams* his testimony of the facility of such a conversion of the *Indians* was too hyperbolicall. For I received advertisement from Mr. *James* (one of the Ministers, who went to *Virginia* upon the Lords worke, of which I spake before) that whilst he was detained (by winds) in *Mary-land* (a Popish Plantation between us and *Virginia*) he saw, as I remember, (for his Letter is not present at hand with me) 40. *Indians* baptized in new Shirts, which the Catholicks had given them for their incouragement unto Baptisme. But he tarried there so long for a faire winde, that before his departure, he saw the *Indians* (when their shirts were foule, and they knew not how to wash them) come againe to make a new motion, either the Catholick *English* there must give them new Shirts, or else they would renounce their Baptisme. I doubt, the *Indians* about Mr. *Williams* are not of a much better spirit. I might mention a fairer instance in these parts, yet such as may argue what kind of facility there is in the *Indians* to conversion, so much as to outward profession. At our first comming hither, *John Sagamore* was the chiefest *Sachim* in these parts. He falling sick, our Pastor Mr. *Wilson* hearing of it (and being of some acquaintance with him) went to visit him, taking one of the Deacons of our Church with him, and withall, a little Mithridate, and strong water. When he came to his lodging (which they call a *Wigwam*) hearing a noyse within, hee looked over the Mat of the door to discerne what it meant, and saw many *Indians* gathered together, and some *Powwaws* amongst them, who are their Priests, Physitians, and Witches. They by course spake earnestly to the sick *Sagamore*, and to his disease, (in a way of charming of it and him) and one to another in a kind of Antiphonies. When they had done, all kept silence,

silence, our Pastour went in with the Deacon, and found the man farre spent, his eyes set in his head, hee speech leaving him, his mother (old *Squaw-Sachim*) sitting weeping at his beds head, Well (saith our Pastour) our God save *Sagamore John*, *Powwaw Cram* (that is, kill) *Sagamore John*: And thereupon hee fell to prayer with his Deacon, and after Prayer, forced into the sick mans mouth with a Spoon, a little Mithridate dissolved in the strong water; soon after the *Sagamore* looked up, and three dayes after went abroad on hunting. This providence so farre prevailed with the *Sagamore*, that he promised to look after the *English* mans God, to heare their Sermons, to weare *English* apparell, &c. But his neighbour *Indians Sagamores*, and *Powwaws* hearing of this, threatned to *Cram* him (that is, to kill him) if he did so degenerate from his Countrey Gods, and Religion, he thereupon fell off, and took up his *Indian* course of life again. Whatsoever facility may seeme to offer it selfe of the conversion of the *Indians*, it is not so easie a matter for them to hold out, no not in a semblance of profession of the true Religion. Afterwards God struck *John Sagamore* againe, (and as I remember with the small Pox:) but then when they desired like succour from our Pastour, as before, he told them, now the Lord was angry with *Sagamore John*, and it was doubtfull, hee would not so easily be intreated. The *Sagamore* blamed himself and justified God, and confessed, he should not have been discouraged by their threats from seeking our God: For those *Sagamores* and *Powwaws* who did most terrifie him, hee had seene God sweeping them away by death, before himself, in a short time after. And therefore when hee saw hee must die (for hee died of that sicknesse) hee left his sonne to the education of our Pastor, that he might keep closer to the *English*, and to their God, then himself had done. But his sonne also dyed of the same disease soon after. All which I relate, to shew, that though a forme of Christian Religion may be professed amongst Christians with some facility: yet it is not so easie a matter to gaine these Pagan *Indians* so much as to a forme of our Religion, and to hold it, howsoever Mr. *Williams* did promise himself greater possibilities. PART I.

Answ. 3. Mr. *Baylie* shall do well to consider, that Mr. *Williams* his speech doth not so much hold forth the facility of the *Indians* to any such conversion, as might fit them for Churchestate, but rather the Hypocrisie and Formalitie of the ordinary

PART I. Church-Members of Nationall Churches; which he professeth is so far off from true conversion, "that it is the subversion of "the soules of many Millions in Christendome, from one false "worship to another.

Answ. 4. It is no unhappinesse of any principle of ours, that "hath kept Mr. *Williams* from making use of his great opportu- "nity, and open door, to propagate the Gospell amongst the "*Indians*. For though their facility to such a carnall conversion, as hee describeth, gave him no just warrant, to gather them into a Church-estate: yet it was a just encouragement to provoke him (who understood their Language) to have preached the Word of God unto them, which might have been mighty through God (if sincerely dispensed) to have turned them from darknesse to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and so have prepared them, both for Church-fellowship here, and for heaven hereafter.

But if Mr. *Baylie* conceive that either Mr. *Williams*, or else wee were to be blamed, because we doe not presently receive *Indians* into the Fellowship of our Churches, seeing their facility to conform their outward man to us, and to so much of our religion, as Mr. *Williams* mentioneth: hee shall doe well to consider before hand, whether *Jacobs* children did well, to perswade the *Sichemites*, (*Gen.* 34.) to receive circumcision, before they better understood the Covenant of *Abraham*, (to which circumcision was a Seale) and had made some better profession of taking hold of it.

SECT. 18. *Of the third shamefull absurdity said to bee found in our way of Independency.*

Come wee now to consider of the third shamefull Absurdity, "which Mr. *Baylie* maketh the fruit of our Independency, break- "ing forth in the practises and profession of the most, who have "been admitted as very fit, if not the fittest Members of our "Churches.

And these evill fruits hee brancheth out into five sorts:

"1. (Saith he) in the vilenesse of their Errors.

"2. In the multitude of the erring persons.

"3. In the hypocrisie joyned with their Errors.

"4. In malice against their Neighbors, and contempt of their superiors.

" ſuperiors, Magiſtrates and Miniſters for oppoſition to their e- PART I.
" vill way.

"5. In their ſingular obſtinacy, ſtiffly ſticking unto their errors, &c.

Anſw. 1. Suppoſe all this to bee true: yet this is ſo far from diſcrediting the way of Independency, or arguing the Tree to be bad by theſe bad fruits, that it doth rather juſtifie the way to be of God, which ſo eaſily hath either healed, or removed, ſo many, ſo vile, ſo generall, ſo ſubtle, ſo headſtrong corruptions, and them that maintained them. *Non ſeclus, non ſcelerum varietas aut atrocitas, is dedecus Politiæ, ſed ſcelerum impunitas.* The Church of *Epheſus* was not blamed by Chriſt, becauſe falſe Apoſtles and Nicolaitans were found amongſt them: but commended, becauſe ſhe could not beare them, *Rev.* 2. 2. 6. Nor is *Thyatira* blamed, that *Jezabell* was found amongſt them, but that they ſuffered her, *Rev.* 2. 20. What if ſo many, ſo hideous vile Errors were found in our Churches? What if the number of erring perſons were (as he ſpeaketh) incredible? " Multitudes of men and women every where " infected? almoſt no Society, nor Family in the Land free " from the peſt? *Boſton* (which he is pleaſed to ſtyle, the beſt and " moſt famous of our Churches) ſo far corrupted, that few were " untainted? What if they accounted the late Governour their " true friend, and thought no leſſe of Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Whele-* " *wright* whom they adored? What if they had drawn to their " ſides not onely multitudes of the people, but the ableſt men " for parts, in all Trades, eſpecially the Souldiers? What if all " theſe evills were carryed forth with preſumptuous contumacy " againſt godly Magiſtrates, and the Orthodox Miniſters? yea, " what if to all the reſt', they added obſtinacy againſt al whol- " ſome meanes of redreſſe and remedy?

Is it not therefore the more evident Demonſtration of the gracious preſence, and mighty power of God, in the Diſcipline of our Churches, that did ſo effectually, ſo ſpeedily, ſo ſafely, ſo eaſily, purge out all this Leaven, either out of the hearts of the people, out of their Families, and Churches, or elſe out of the Country?

Whence the argument ſeemeth to mee to ariſe unavoidably.

Thoſe evills, which Independency doth either heal, or remove, they are not the fruits of Independency.

But all theſe grievous and dangerous evils, Independency did either heal or remove.

PART I. Therefore these grievous and dangerous evills were not the fruits of Independency.

Again, That government, which by the blessing of Christ, doth safely, speedily, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evills, as threaten the ruine of Church and State, that government is safely allowed, and justly and wisely established in any civill State.

But Independency by the blessing of Christ doth speedily, safely, and effectually purge out such grievous and dangerous evills, as threaten the ruine of Church and State: therefore Independency is safely allowed, and justly, and wisely established in any civill State.

*Ob.*1. But this purging and healing of these grievous and dangerous evills was not the fruit of their Independent-Church-Government, but of their civill Government. "We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much, as call Ms. *Hutchinson* before them, to be rebuked for any of her errors, though their generall Assembly had confuted them, and condemned them: yet still shee was permitted to goe on, till the zeal of the new Governour, and the generall Court did condemne her to perpetuall banishment. Then, and not till then, so far as wee can perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* bring a processe against her. And when the processe was brought to an end, Mr. *Cotton* would by no meanes put it in execution; that burden was layed upon the back of Mr. *Wilson* his Colleague, how ever not the fittest Instrument, being the person to whom Ms. *Huthinson* had professed greatest opposition. And when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, that the great cause of it was none of her Errors or Heresies, but her other practises, specially her grosse lying.

*Answ.*1. What ever assistance the civill Government gave to the purging and healing of these evils, it was the fruit of Independent Church Government. For whether the Neighbour Churches suspected our Church of *Boston* might bee partiall, and indulgent to these erroneous persons: or whether they saw, we wanted sufficient witnesses upon which wee might proceed against them in a Church way, they took a right course (according to the principles of the Independent Government) to gather into a Synod with the consent of the civill Magistrates: and in the Synod

nod to agitate, convince and condemne the Errors, and the offensive carriages then stirring. Whereat the Magistrates being present, they saw just cause to proceed against the chief of those whom they conceived to have bred any civill disturbance: and the Churches saw cause to proceede against their Members, whom they found to bee broachers or maintainers of such heresies. PART I.

Answ. 2. It hath been declared above, why the Eldership of "*Boston* did not call Ms. *Hutchinson* before them to rebuke her "for her Errors, or to restraine her from going on, though "the generall Assembly had confuted and condemned her Er-"rors and course.

For though the Errors were condemned, (and by the Elders of *Boston*, as well as others:) yet the errors were not fastened personally upon her: nor had we any two witnesses, that would affirm it to us, that shee did broach or maintain such errors or heresies, till after her sentence unto banishment by the generall Court; And then indeed, as she was more bold and open in declaring her judgment before many witnesses: so the Elders of the Church of *Boston* called her to account before the Church, and convinced her of her Errors, and with the consent of the Church, layed her, and one or two more of her abettors under the censure of an admonition even for those corrupt opinions, which were charged upon her, and proved against her.

"*Ob.* 1. Yea but Mr. *Cotton* would by no means put the cen-"sure in execution upon her, that burden must be layed upon "the back of Mr. *Wilson*, &c.

Answ. The censure of admonition, because it was for matter of Erroneous doctrine, it was thought meet to bee dispensed and administred by Mr. *Cotton*, who was their Teacher: which also (by the the help of Christ) hee did performe, setting before her both the corrupt causes of her errors, and the bitter fruits of them: and charging her solemnly before the Lord, and his Angells, and Churches then assembled, to return from the Error of her way.

Afterwards, when upon further serious debate and conferenca with her by Mr. *Davenport*, and my selfe, she was convinced of all her errors in particular, shee being called againe before the Church, did openly recant every errour and heresie, and professed her repentance for every miscarriage against Magistrates

PART I. and Elders: which farre exceeded the expectation of the whole Congregation, which then consisted of many Churches, and strangers. But when shee had done, she added withall, "That she "had never been of other judgement, howsoever her expressi- "ons might seem to vary. This sounded so harshly, and falsly in the eares of many witnesses, that many rose up to convince her of her falshood and lying, in so saying. Which when shee did not hearken to, shee was esteemed, by the judgement of the Elders, and our whole Church, to be justly subject to excommunication. Which though I did not think meet to bee dispensed by my self (because the offence was not in matter of Doctrin, but of practise, which more properly belonged to the Pastours Office, or ruling Elders:) yet I declared to the whole Congregation the righteousnesse of the censure, and satisfyed the Scruples of some Brethren, who doubted of it. But yet if the Church, or other Elders had put that taske upon me, I should no more have refused the dispensing of the censure of excommunication upon her, then I did before of admonition. Neither was her opposition against Mr. *Wilson* any just reason of exempting him from that duty. For shee saw, wee all with one accord, concurred in that sentence: it was no partiall act of his, but the common vote both of the Presbytery, and Fraternity. And what if she had professed her opposition against us all? had that been a just excuse to exempt any of us from performing a service due to God, and the Church, yea and to herself also?

Object. 2. "But when the sentence was propounded against "her, they tell us, the great cause of it was none of her Er- "rours, and Heresies, but for other practises, especially her "grosse lying.

Answ. Wee could not justly pronounce the cause of her sentence to be her errors and heresies, which she had openly recanted, and given her recantation under her handwriting. Neither did any of us say, That such Heresies did not deserve the censure of excommunication, if she had continued obstinate in them: but wee thought it needfull to follow the rule of the Apostle, not to reject an Heretick till after once or twice admonition, *Tit.* 3. 10. under which if the Heretick relent, the Church proceeding stayeth, unlesse some other offence set it forward, as it did in her case.

SECT.

SECT. 19. *Tending to rectifie some mistakes of* Mr. *Baylie in relating the former absurdities.*

But before I leave this close of Mr. *Baylies* third Chapter, touching the evill fruits of Independency, let mee advertise him of some few further mistakes in his Narration of the same.

First, when he reckoneth in the front of vile errours, the inhabitation of the person of the Spirit in all the godly, let him weigh what hath been said above, touching that point. And if hee cleare it to be an errour, I willingly shall acknowledge, hee shall teach me that, which I yet know not. I professe my self willing to learn of a meaner man, then Mr. *Baylie*.

"Secondly, when he maketh the number of the erring persons incredible, almost no society, no family free from that pest, "*Boston* it self so farre infected, that few there were untainted: let him be pleased to consider, whether his testimony will make it good. His testimonies (recited in his Markes *FF. GG.*) speak to the utmost of truth, but not so much as he avoucheth. The short Story in Preface, *pag.* 7. saith indeed, "They had some "of all sorts and qualities in all places to patronize and defend "them: and almost in every family some were ready to defend "them as the Apple of their own eye.

But this will not make it good, that almost in every family some were infected with the pest of their errours. It is one thing to speak in the defence of erroneous persons, another to speak in defence of errours. Multitudes there were, that thought well of the persons, who knew nothing of their errours, but heard onely of their unbottoming sandy foundations of a spirituall estate, which hath been mentioned above, Chap. 3.

Which may also truely be said even of *Boston* likewise. The body of the Church, the greatest part of them were like those members of the Church in *Thyatira*, of whom it is said (*Rev.* 2. 24.) They knew not the depths of Satan. The truth whereof may evidently appeare by this, That when those errors of Mistris *Hutchinson* were publickly charged upon her before the Church, and proved by sufficient witnesses, the whole body of the Church, and all the Brethren with one accord (save onely her sonne) consented

PART I. sented readily to her censure: which they would not have done, "if the whole Church of *Boston* (some excepted) had become "her converts, and were infected with her opinions.

"Thirdly, when hee saith, they adored some of their Mini-"sters, and instanceth in Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Whelewright*.

Adoration is too vast an Hyperbole to be made good by just testimonies. All hyperbolicall praises, though they may farre exceed the bounds of truth in comparisons of men with men; yet they will not reach adoration, which is divine worship. Neither will it bee made good, That they magnified either Mr. *Whelewright*, or me, for the defence of their errors. Yea they soon forsooke Mr. *Whelewright* (as well as he them) when they saw his judgement (as well as mine) against Antinomianisme, and Familisme.

Fourthly, when he saith, "Mistris *Hutchinson*, and the late "Governour, kept almost every day, so private and long dis-"course with Mr. *Cotton*, that made them conclude all was "their own.

I must needs professe, that cannot be made good by any witnesse of truth, Mistris *Hutchinson* seldome reforted to mee: and when she did, she did seldome or never enter into any private speech between the former Governour and my self. And when she did come to me, it was seldome or never (that I can tell of) that she tarried long. I rather think, she was loath to resort much to me, or, to conferre long with me, lest she might seeme to learne somewhat from me. And withall I know (by good proof) she was very carefull to prevent any jealousie in mee, that shee should harbour any private opinions, differing from the course of my publick Ministery. "Which she could not well have "avoyded, if she had kept almost every day so private and long discourse with me.

But what Testimony, or proof doth Mr. *Baylie* alledge for this our private and long conference, almost every day? His marke [Y Y] referreth us to the short story, where it is said, "They "made full account the day had been theirs.

But did they make this account upon occasion of these our private, and long, and frequent conferences every day? not a syllable of proofe for this point. It is not righteous dealing, large charges, and narrow proofs.

Fourthly, that which Mr. *Baylie* further relateth from the testimony

teſtimony of Mr. *Williams*, is as farre from truth, as the former. PART I.

"Mr. *Williams* (ſaith Mr. *Baylie*) told me, that he was employed to buy from the Savages, for their late Governour, and Mr. *Cotton*, with their Followers, a portion of Land without the *Engliſh* Plantation whither they might retire and live according to their mind, exempt from the juriſdiction of all others, whether Civill or Eccleſiaſtick, Mr. *Williams* was in ſo great friendſhip with the late Governour, when he told me ſo much, that I beleeve he would have been loth to have ſpoken an untruth of him.

Anſw. But this I dare be bold to ſay, if Mr. *Williams* told Mr. *Baylie* ſo much, that he was imployed by me to buy any Land from the Savages, for mee and my followers (as he calls them) he ſpake an untruth of me, whatſoever he did of the Governour. Yet becauſe I would not ſpeake nor thinke worſe of Mr. of *Williams* then neceſſitie conſtrayneth, I cannot ſay but that he might ſpeak as he thought, and as he was told; for it may well bee, that ſuch as abuſed the Governours name to him for ſuch an end, might alſo more boldly abuſe mine. But I muſt profeſſe, I neither wrote, nor ſpake, nor ſent to Mr. *Williams* for any ſuch errand. If ever I had removed, I intended *Quinipyack*, and not *Aquetbnick*. And I can hardly beleeve the Governour would ſend to him for any ſuch end, who I ſuppoſe never thought it likely, that himſelf ſhould tarry longer in the Countrey, then he tarried in the *Bay*.

Fifdly, when Mr. *Baylie* objecteth the prophaneneſſe of theſe erroneous perſons, and juſtifieth it by the teſtimonies of Mr. *Weld* and my ſelf, "And aggravateth the ſame by their profeſſion of Piety (ſo farre, that they avow their ſtanding looſe from all reformed Churches as uncleane, becauſe of their mixture with the prophane Multitude.)

Let him be pleaſed to conſider; Firſt, what was ſaid above, *Non ſcelus, ſed ſceleris impunitas*, is the guilt of a ſociety, whether civill or ſacred.

Secondly, what Mr. *Weld* meant by fouler ſinnes then pride, or lying, found in thoſe perſons, I cannot gueſſe: nor have I heard of them: unleſſe hee meant the adultery of one, who upon his own confeſſion was caſt out of the Church for that crime.

As for the teſtimony of mine, which hee quoteth from ſome

PART I. words in the vialls, wherein the sinnes of the people were reproved, let him not improve them further then they will bear. Such reproofs doe not alwayes argue sinnes of our Church members: or if they did, yet not, that those sinnes are openly known: or if openly known, yet not, that they were tolerated. And yet all these must concurre, or else the vices found amongst professors, will not argue the viciousnesse either of their doctrine or worship, or Church Government.

Luther complaineth, *in Postill. super Evangel. Dom. adventus, Sunt nunc homines magis vindictæ cupidi, magis avari, magis ab omni misericordiâ remoti, magis immodesti, & indisciplinati, multoque deteriores, quam fuerunt sub papatu.* And *Chrysostome*, (*in opere imperfect. in Matth. Hom. 49.*) speaketh of Christians as becomming like the Hereticks, or Pagans, or worse.

Yet I suppose he that should improve the words either of *Chrysostome*, to argue the discipline of Christians, worse then that of the Pagans: or of *Luther*, to argue the discipline of Protestants to be worse then that of Papists, he shall doubtlesse stretch their words upon the Rack, farre beyond the scope of their meaning. The words I spake, were in comparison between the godly Professors in *England*, and ours here, and at such a time, when Episcopall persecution made them draw the nearer to God, and to walke the more circumspectly before men. But Sheepe set at libertie from the feare of Wolves, will straggle further from their Shepheard, then when they resent danger.

Thirdly, it is too grosse and heavy an aggravation, which Mr. *Baylie* putteth upon us, if he meane it of us. " That our profession of pietie is so faire that wee stand aloofe from all reformed Churches as uncleane, because of their mixture with the prophane multitude.

For it is more then he can prove, or we doe professe. Though in the Bishops time, we did not forthwith receive all the members of the Church of *England* into the fellowship of our Churches: yet (for ought I know) wee are not likely to stand aloofe from Presbyteriall Churches faithfully administred, nor from the testimony which they shall give of their members, that may have occasion to Traffick hither. And the like doe I conceive of other reformed Churches in other Nations of Christendome. Presbyterian Churches faithfully administred, are not wont to admit a mixt prophane multitude to the Lords Table.

Sixtly,

Sixtly, let me take off one instance more, which Mr. *Baylie* giveth of one abomination, which to him seemeth strange. "That "the Midwives to our most zealous women, should not onely "have familiarity with the Devill, but also in that service com- "mit devillish Malefices: which so farre as they tell us, were not "onely past over without punishment, but never so much as en- "quired after. PART I.

Answ. This accusation is indeed of some weight, because it is of a grievous, and devillish crime, and it tolerated. But how doth it appeare to him, that it was tolerated? "not onely past "over without punishment, but never so much as enquired "after?

Why, saith he, so farre as they tell us. So farre as they tell us? Is the silence of a short story of this or that fact, a good argument, *a non dici, ad non esse*? yea it is a good argument on the contrary, that there was inquiry made after that Midwife, and diligent search into her, or else it would have been recorded, as some close conveyance of the erroneous party. The truth is, the woman, though she offered her self to the Elders of our Church, yet was not received, upon discovery of some unsound principles in her judgement. Being then no member, the Church had no power to deale with her. But when suspition grew of her familiarity with the Devill, especially upon that occasion, which the short story relateth, shee was convented before the Magistrates, and diligently examined about that, and other evills. But though no familiarity with the Devill could be proved against her; yet because of some other offences in dealing with young women, she was forbidden to stay in the Countrey.

SECT. 20. *Tending to consider what better fruits might have been expected from Presbyterian discipline, for the removing of the like absurdities.*

Having thus given account to Mr. *Baylie* of the inconsequence of all his discourse from the errors of this countrey, to argue the unsoundnesse of our Church-discipline, let me now intreat him to consider, what better fruits might have been expected in the like case from Presbyteriall Government. I demand, if Presbyterian Government had been established amongst us, should wee

PART I. not then have received all these Hereticks, and erroneous persons, into our Church? Yes surely, for no member of the Commonwealth is excluded: well, therein our Congregationall discipline bringeth forth no worse fruit, then their Presbyterian.

I demand againe, if these persons should afterwards fall into error, or Heresie, which could not be proved by two witnesses, what course would Presbyterian government have taken? would it not have forborne processe, till sufficient testimony might bee brought to convince them? If suspicion of their unsound judgement had grown, would they not have examined them, and if they denied it, and no sufficient testimony could bee brought against them, would not the Presbyters have let them alone? Hitherto we did the same.

I demand further, if any Presbytery in a Church, were suspected to be too remisse in proceeding against such Delinquents, would not the Presbytery of the neighbour Churches have taken the matter in hand, and so gathering into a Synod, first convinced such errors, and then condemned them, and the maintainers of them too, if they were found guiltie of them, and persistent in them? Thus farre also the Presbytery of our neighbour Churches did proceed as to gather into a Synod, and both convinced and condemned the errors. And though they did not proceed to condemne or censure the maintainers of them; yet when they had gotten proof thereof, they proceeded in their own congregations to the censure of their own erroneous members (after all other meanes to recover them used in vaine:) And besides, they dealt with the Presbytery of our Church to doe the same. And wee hearing their complaints and their proofs, wee respectively hearkned to them, and proceeded to the like censure in our Church, as they had done in theirs; And in like sort travelled with our members for their conviction, as they had done with theirs, even so farre, that Mistris *Hutchinson* was brought to a recantation, though her prevarication of it brought her to a censure, yea the utmost censure, and that with generall consent of our whole Church, and satisfaction of others. It seemeth then, that our Independency (as it is called) doth no more breed, nor nourish, nor tolerate errors, or Heresies, then Presbyterian discipline doth. And if there should a defect arise in any Church, there is the like remedy in the vigilancy of other Churches, and finally, obstinacy in all evills of notorious offence, whether in judgement

judgement or practise, meeteth at length with the same or like censure, in either government. PART I.

Let not therefore Mr. *Baylie* allow himself in saying as he doth (in the close of his third Chapter) "That this new and singular way, the Lord hath so manifestly cursed with more bad "fruits, and greater store of them, then ever yet did appeare "upon the tree of Brownisme. For though it becommeth not us to make comparisons of fruits with other Churches (unlesse themselves did provoke us to it:) nor doth it concern us to deale with them about any offence, unlesse we dwelt neer them, and knew their estate:) yet this is enough to us, to cleare us unto Mr. *Baylie*, and to the world, against all his exceptions, That (through the mercy of Christ) no evill fruit at all hath sprung from our Church Government. What offence soever, in judgement or practise, hath been suspected or found among us, it hath not sprung from the government, but from personall defects, either among the Brethren or Elders. And what hath been suspected, or found in either of them, hath either been cleared, or healed, or removed by the government. Blessed bee the name of the Lord Iesus, whose throne is in *Zion* and his furnace in *Jerusalem*, who delighteth to blesse his own ordinances with power and peace.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the antiquitie of Congregationall discipline, compared with Classicall.

SECTION I.

MR. *Baylie* speaketh of our Congregationall, and (as hee calleth it) our Independent way, as not having continued a week of yeers (that is, not 7. yeers) when the errors brake forth in *New-England*, *Pag.* 59. Sometimes hee maketh us the same in realitie with the *Brownists* (*Pag.* 58.) to whom he attributeth about 50. yeers continuance, *Pag.* 59. sometimes he maketh us followers "of Mr. *Robinson*, who stept in to support (as hee speaketh) "languishing Brownisme, when it was ready to fall, *Pag.* 17. and 54. All which expressions tend to make the world beleeve, that our Congregationall way, or (as he calleth it) Independent, is but of yesterday, newly sprung up, unknown and unheard of in the former Ages of the Church; which if it were true, were no

PART I. small prejudice to the way wee walke in. The way of God is the old way, *Jer.* 6. 16. yea so old, as fetcheth his antiquity from the antient of dayes, and from the Lord Jesus, who is the way of Truth and of Life. *Id verum, quod primum: id primum quod ab initio.* There is no false way, but is an aberration from the first institution.

Give me therefore leave to professe freely without offence, what I truely beleeve without scruple, that though the Acts of Church-government (in the ordination of officers, and censure of offenders) by the Presbyters of neighbour Churches, be very antient: yet not more antient then *Humanus Episcopatus* (as *Beza* calleth it:) nor so antient, as the way of our Congregationall government of each Church within it self, by the space of 300. yeers. I will not here speak of those Texts of Scripture (*Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17. 1 *Cor.* 5.) which convince us, that Congregationall discipline was instituted by Christ, and his Apostles. I refer them to the sequele, wherein our particular Tenents are discussed by Mr. *Baylie*, which will come in due place (God willing) to be reviewed and examined. But,

In the first century, whilst the Apostles lived, wee read of no act of Church-power put forth by the Elders of Churches over absent Congregations, but onely in *Act.* 15. 28. with Chap. 16. 4. But let it be considered:

1. That this Synod was not *Status Conventus*, a set monethly, or yeerly Assembly, the ordinary standing Judicatory of the Church: nor assembled for administration of ordinary Church-power (as ordination of Officers, or censure of offenders) but called together upon urgent, and unwonted occasion, the dissention of the Church of *Antioch*, which both craved, and needed direction in such a case, *Act.* 15. 1. 2. And wee easily grant (what we willingly practise in a Congregationall way) that neither doctrine, nor discipline can well proceed unto publick Edification, when the Church is rent with dissention. The promise of Christs presence with his Church, is given to them met in his name, and agreeing in his Name, *Matth.* 18. 18, 19. But when a Congregation wanteth agreement and peace amongst themselves, it is then a way of God (according to the patterne, *Act.* 15. 2.) to consult with some other Church, or Churches, either by themselves or their messengers met in a Synod. But then they send not to them for power to administer any ordinance amongst themselves, but for light to satisfie dissenters, and so to remove the stumbling block of

the

the suspition of mal-administration of their power, out of the way. PART I.

But otherwise, when Churches want not peace nor light within themselves, to exercise that power without distraction, which the Lord hath given them, Christ doth not direct his Churches to gather into a Synod for removing of knowen offences either in Doctrine or manners: but onely sendeth to the Pastors or Presbyters of each Church, to reforme within themselves, what is amongst them. *Rev.* chap. 2. and chap. 3. A plain pattern to Churches, in case of publick offences tolerated in neighbour Churches, not forthwith to gather into a Synod (or Classicall meeting) for redresse thereof: but by Letters and messengers to admonish one another of what is behovefull; unlesse upon such admonition, they refuse to hearken to the wholesome counsell of their Brethren. And then the dissention of this Church from others hindering the free passage of the Gospell (as much as dissention amongst themselves doth) it may give just and necessary occasion of assembling a Synod of the Elders, and messengers of Neighbor-Churches for the conviction of their sin with common consent, and if (after long patience) they remain obstinate, to withdraw from them the right hand of Fellowship in the communion of Churches.

2. The Synod assembled at *Hierusalem*, (*Acts* 15.) was not a convention or consistory of Elders apart from brethren: but such a number of Brethren were admitted into their Assembly, as carried the name of a whole Church, distinguished expressly from the Apostles, and Elders, *Acts* 15. 22, 23. The same who are called the Brethren, distinct from the Apostles and Elders, *ver.* 23, are called also the whole Church, *ver.* 22. And with them is the power communicated, which the Apostles and Elders put forth in these Synodicall Letters, *ver.* 22. to 29. If the Classis doe admit the Brethren of the Church where they meet, to sit with the Elders, in debating and determining the matters of the Synod, even such a number of Brethren, as may denominate them a whole church, as then they shall come neerer to the Primitive pattern, so they may expect a freer passage of the presence and blessing of the Holy Ghost with them.

3. That Synod having heard and argued the whole cause in controversie, they give their judgement both of the doctrine taught at *Antioch*, and of the persons that taught it, as troublesome,

PART I. some to the Church, and subversive to their soules, and unwarranted by themselves, *ver.* 24. Nevertheless, they neither excommunicate them themselves, nor command the Church to excommunicate them: but leave that to the Church to exercise their owne power according to the rule of the Word, in case any of their members should be found to persist obstinately in such pernicious doctrine after conviction.

4. That Synod layed indeed a burden (or weighty charge) not onely of a doctrine to be beleived, but of a duty in matter of practise to be performed (for avoiding of offence:) and lay it they did with the greater power, according to the greater measure of Grace and light received, both from Texts of Scriptures clearly opened, and from direction of Apostles personally present. But though wee dare not allow alike equall power to ordinary Synods, unlesse they had the like equall presence and assistance of infallible guides, (such as the Apostles were:) yet our Congregational way doth easily allow the like power to the like orderly Synods so far forth, that when they have cleared from the Scriptures any doubtfull point of doctrin or practise, to be of necessary observation, they wil readily submit as to a counsell & command of God, both from the Word, and the Word dispensed in the way of an Ordinance. In such a case wee acknowledge (with our best Divines) *Potestatem in Synodis* διορθωτικὴν, καὶ διατακτικὴν a power in Synods to direct and appoint, what spirituall prudence from the Word shall determine. But it is one thing, to direct and charge Churches from the Word of the Lord, what should be done by them: another thing to doe their Acts of power for them. The one guideth them in the use and exercise of their power: the other taketh their power, or at least the exercise of it, out of their hand, which is more then the pattern of Synods (in *Acts* 15.) doth hold forth.

SECT. II.

In the second century of yeares, the Government of the Church was administred, not in a Classical, but in a Congregationall way, as in the former century, of wch we need no better evidence, then the evident Testimony of the *Magdeburgenses*, in the second century, chap. 7, *tit. de consociatione ecclesiarum, cæterum* (say they) *si quis* "*probatos authores hujus seculi perspiciat, videbit Forman Gubernationis propemodum* Δημοκρατίας *similem fuisse. Singulæ enim parem habebant postestatem, verbum Dei pure docendi, Sacramenta Ad-*

"*ministrandi*

" *ministrandi, Excommunicandi Hæreticos, & sceleratos, minist.* "
" *eligendi, vocandi, ordinandi, & justissimas ob causas iterum deponendi, conventus & Synodos congregandi, &c.* that is, If a man search
" the approved Authors of this age, he shall see the Form of the
" Government, to be almost like to a Democracy: For every single
" Church had equal power of preaching the Word, administring
" Sacraments, excommunicating hereticks and notorious offen-
" ders, absolving penitents, choosing, calling, ordaining Mini-
" sters, and upon just and weighty causes deposing them again:
" power also of gathering Conventions and Synods, &c.

What is Congregationall Government, and Independent from other Churches, and Presbyters, if this be not? Though he mentioneth Conventions and Synods, yet he speaketh of them, not as having power to govern the Churches, but of the Churches, as having power to gather them. But the Synods left the power of choosing, calling, ordaining Ministers, of censuring hereticks and offenders, and of absolving Penitents to the single Churches, each one enjoying equall power within themselves. The helpe which neighbour Churches yeelded one to another, was not *Cum imperio, & subjectione*, (as hee speaketh in the same place) not with Dominion of some, and subjection of others, but *Charitatis & ædificationis studio*, out of brotherly love and care and desire of mutuall edification. Which made him say, their Form of Government was like well-nigh, or almost to a Democracy: like to a Democracy, in regard of mutuall equality of power in one Church towards another: & yet but almost like to a Democracy, in regard each Church within it self had an Aristocracy of Presbytery for their guidance and Government, though they did no act of Church-Government without concourse and censure of the Brethren.

The rash attempt of *Victor* (Bishop of *Rome*) in this age against the Churches of *Asia*, to censure them for a different observation of *Easter*, it onely argueth, that the Mystery of iniquity did more early, and earnestly work in *Rome*, then in other Churches: but doth not hold forth any received custome of that age, the officers of one Church to proceed to the censure of their Brethren in other Churches. For this attempt of *Victor* was generally contested against by *Irenæus*, and other Bishops.

SECT. III.

In the third century of years, the Churches injoyed (to use the

PART I. words of the Centuriists, "*Cent.*3.*cap.*7.)almost the like form of "Government, according to the course of the Former Age, "though somewhat more enlarged by ambition.

For it appeareth, *Novatus* was excommunicated by a councell at *Rome* under *Cornelius*. And *Samosatenus* was excommunicated and deposed by a councell at *Antioch*. But yet where the Bishops did more attend to the rule of Scripture, and former precedents, Congregationall Churches did still enjoy their wonted liberty and power.

Their Bishops and other Officers were not chosen to their hands by a consistory of Bishops(or Pastors)amongst themselves in the absence of the people: but(as *Cyprian* telleth us) amongst them,in *Carthage*,and almost throughout all the Provinces, "As "they have received from the Apostles, so they hold it, that for "the orderly Celebration of Ordination, all the neighbor Bi-"shops,(or Pastors)of the same Province, where a Minister is "to be Ordained, they come to gether to that people, and the "Bishop is chosen in the presence of the people, to whom his "life is best knowen. As (saith hee) was done amongst us in the "Ordination of our fellow-Minister *Sabinus*; his Office was put "upon him by the suffrage of the whole Brotherhood, and by "the judgment of all the Pastors both present, and such as by "Letters gave testimony of him: and so hands were imposed "upon him. *Cyprian Epistolarum l.*1. *Epistola* 4. And in the same "Epistle he saith, The people fearing God, and obedient to the "Ordinances of Christ ought to separate from a wicked Ruler, "*Cum ipsa maxime potestatem habeat vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes,vel* "*indignos recusandi*: Seeing the people chiefly have the power of "chooſing worthy Ministers, and refusing the unworthy. And as Election and Ordination of Ministers was transacted in the presence and with the suffrage of the people; so was excommunication also: for upon this ground, *Cyprian* argueth and aggravateth the offence of the Brotherhood in other Churches, who took upon them to question and wave that censure, *post Divinum Judicium*, (he meaneth, the judgement of Gods Ministers the Elders) *post populi suffragium*, *post Coepiscoporum consensum*: after the Divine judgment of their Elders, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of neighbor Ministers, *Cyprian. Epistolarum l.* 1. *Epistola* 3. where he giveth to each rank, their proper act in passing Church-censure: hee assigneth to the Elders of the Church

Judicium.

Judicium, the judgement: to the people, *Suffragium*, suffrage or vote: to neighbour Ministers, *Consensum*, consent. PART I.

And that the people had the like concourse in the absolution and admission of penitents, appeareth by *Cyprian* in the same Epistle, "*Vix Plebi persuadeo* (saith he) *immo extorqueo, ut tales patiantur Admitti*: (*tales nempe, de quorum sincera Pœnitentia vix Plebi constabat*) *& justior factus est Fraternitatis Dolor, ex eo quod unus atque alius, obnitente Plebe, & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate susceptis, pejores extiterunt quam prius fuerant.*

"With much adoe I perswade people, & even wrest it from them, "that they would suffer such to be admitted, (of whose repentance they were doubtfull: and the grief of the brotherhood is "so much the more just, because one or two before having been "received by my facility (the people gainsaying, and striving "against it) proved worse afterwards then they were before.

Where though he spake of the peoples gainsaying and striving against his receiving of one or two: yet it evidently appeareth that in his ordinary and usuall course, he was not wont to receive any without the peoples consent. And even then when they did gainsay and strive against his act at first, yet he was not wont to proceed, till with importunate perswasions, and wrastlings with them, he had prevailed with them to give way.

But of others hee speaketh (*Epistolarum lib.* 3. *Epistola* 11.) "*Cæteros*, saith he, *cum ingenti populi suffragio recipimus*: the rest "were received with the free and generall suffrage of the people. "And againe, (*Epistola* 16. of the same book) hee thus speaketh "*ad plebem, Examinabuntur singula, præsentibus, & judicantibus "vobis.*

And indeed (in the end of the tenth Epistle of his third Book) "he professeth his resolution to performe no act of Church-"Government without consent of the Elders and Deacons, and "Brethren of the Church: *A primordio Episcopatus mei, statui, "nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu Plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere.*

All these are expresse and lively lineaments of the very body of Gongregationall discipline, the same (for substance) wherein wee walke at this day. And therefore let it not bee sleighted or despised, as a Novell invention, of seven, or twenty, or fiftie yeers standing.

PART I.

CHAPT. V.
Of the fruits of Congregationall discipline.

SECT. I.
Of the fruits of it in the primitive times.

WEe have heard of the corrupt fruits, which Mr. *Baylie* chargeth (but corruptly, and causelesly) upon Congregationall discipline: Let us now see, whether better fruits have not been found to grow upon it, even such fruits as do argue the discipline to be the plantation of the Lord Jesus.

1 Presupposing that which hath been proved, that our Congregationall discipline, is the same (for substance) wherein the Primitive Churches walked for the first 300. yeers, (to wit, during all the time of the Primitive Persecutions) I conceive (without arrogancy) wee may acknowledge the fruits of their discipline to be the fruits of ours.

First, their exact strictnesse in examining and trying their *Catechumeni*, before they received them into *Ecclesiam Fidelium*, brought forth this savory and spirituall fruit, the purity of Churches. Pagans themselves could not charge them with any crime, but the name and profession of Christianitie, see *Pliny Epistolarum lib.* 10. *Epistolam* 97. *Tertullian Apologetick Chap.* 3. That which hee saith of *Cajus Sejus*, was a generall Elogy of their Church-members, *Bonus vir, malus tantum quòd Christianus.* A like fruit to that of *Daniel* against whom his enemies could find no occasion of complaint of error or fault, except it were for the profession of the Law of his God, Chap. 6. 4, 5.

And as their strict examination received their members pure: so their strict censure kept them pure. For in the Church, "*Iudicabatur magno cum pondere*: — And in their Feasts they "were temperate and religiously fruitfull in savory and gratious "conference, and so departed better then they met, *Ut qui non "tam Cænam cænaverint, quam disciplinam. Tertul. Apol. Cap.* 39.

2 From this purity and vigilancy of their discipline, in the admission of their members, and in the administration of their censures, there sprung forth many other gratious fruits, as their holy and constant and confident confessions of the Name of Christ before judgement seates, the patient and glorious Martyrdomes of innumerable Saints, to the conviction and astonishment of a world of persecutors.

Whence

Whence also sprung at last, the conversion of a great part of the word unto the truth, the advancement of a Christian Emperour, the rooting out of Paganish Idolatry, and propagation of the profession of Christian Religion, not onely through the Roman Empire, but in many other Nations exempt from the power of Roman Armes, yet not from the power of the Name of Christ, and of his Church. PART I.

Afterwards, in the dayes of *Constantine*, when the externall peace and libertie of the Churches, encouraged all sorts of men (cleane and uncleane) to offer themselves to the fellowship of the Church, and Congregationall discipline began to be neglected through the usurped authority of the Bishops, and Presbyters, the limits of the Church began to bee as large as the Precincts of the Parish: and the Church it self (which before was wont to be as a Garden inclosed, *Cant.* 4.12.) did now become as a Wilderneſse lying open to all the Beasts of the Field; who so would offer himself, might have free passage into the bosome of the Church: and offer themselves they did, not from the savour of spirituall gifts (as was wont to bee done in Congregationall discipline:) but from respect to the countenance of higher powers, and the priviledges and preferments flowing therefrom; Church members being farre more readily received to place of trust and honour, then men without. But this inundation of corrupt members was prevented by the vigilancy of Congregationall discipline, whilst it stood in force, in the former centuries.

3. This was another good Fruit of the Congregationall discipline in those primitive times, That whilst it took place in the Churches, there could be no place, nor way open for the advancement of Antichrist, no nor for the usurpation of Episcopall prelacy. For whilst every Church kept their Government within their own Congregation, they knew not the heavy and Lordly yoke of Cathedrall Churches, much lesse were they trodden down with impositions from the Sea of Rome. It is true, *Victor* Bishop of Rome attempted a censure against the Churches of *Asia*, but his Arrogancy was speedily repressed by *Irenæus*, and sundry others both in *Europe* & *Asia*. And when some scandalous persons in the *African* Churches, did appeale in *Cyprians* time from those Churches unto Rome, *Cyprian*, and his fellow Bishops (or Presbyters) in the *African* Churches, did easily prevent the impeachment of

PART I. their Church-Government from remote Churches, and kept still their Government within themselves.

SECT. 2. *Of the Fruits of Congregationall discipline in our Churches in* New-England.

2. FOr the fruits of Congregationall discipline, as it hath been exercised amongst us (though in much weaknesse) the Lord hath not left us without testimony from Heaven.

First, in making these Churches a little sanctuary (through his grace) to many thousands of his servants, who fled over hither to avoide the unsupportable pressures of their consciences by the Episcopall tyranny.

Secondly, in blessing the Ministery of our Preachers here with like fruits of conversion (as in our native Countrey) of sundry elder and younger persons, who came over hither not out of respect to conscience, or spirituall ends, but out of respect to friends, or outward inlargements: but have here found that grace, which they sought not for.

Thirdly, in discovering and suppressing those errors of Antinomians, and Familists, which brake forth here amongst us, and might have proceeded to the subversion of many soules, had not the blessing of Christ upon the vigilancy of Congregationall discipline, either prevented or removed, or healed the same.

Fourthly, it hath been also a testimony from Heaven of Gods blessing upon our way, that many thousands in *England* in all the Quarters of the kingdome, have been awakened to consider of the cause of Church discipline, for which wee have suffered this hazardous and voluntary banishment into this remote Wildernesse: and have therefore by letters conferred with us about it, & been (through mercy) so farre enlightned, as to desire an utter subversion of Episcopacy, and conformity, yea and the Honorable Houses of Parliament, the Lord hath been pleased to helpe them so farre to consider of our sufferings, and of the causes thereof, as to conclude a necessitie of reformation of the Ecclesiasticall state, (amongst other causes,) by reason of the necessitie put upon so many *English* subjects to depart from all our employments, and enjoyments in our Native Countrey, for conscience sake.

SECT.

PART I.

SECT. 3. *Of the Fruits of Congregationall discipline in* England.

3 For the fruits of Congregationall discipline in *England*, they that walke in that way amongst you, might speak far more particularly, and largely, then I here can doe at such a remote distance. But if Books, and Letters, and reports doe not too much abuse us with false intelligence, the great, and gratious, and glorious victories, wherby the Lord hath wrought salvation for *England* in these late warres, have been as so many testimonies of the blessing of God upon our way. For the chiefest instruments, which God hath delighted to use herein, have been the Faith and fidelity, the courage, and constancy of Independents. And when I say Independents, I meane not those corrupt Sects and Heresies, which shroud themselves under the vast title of Independency, and in the meane time cast off all Church Government, and Churches too; but such as professe the Kingdome of Christ in the gouernment of each holy Congregation of Saints within themselves.

Far bee it from me to undervalue the brotherly assistance of the Scottish Churches and Commonwealth in working so great a deliverance for England. Yea I account their concurrence a greater matter then assistance in this great work. Their exemplary piety and zeale, their courage, and confidence in rising up, and standing out against the invasion of Episcopall tyranny, and superstition, did doubtlesse quicken and encourage England to stand for the like liberty in the like cause: and to put forth that zeale, which the Lord had kindled in the hearts of many for Reformation. And this was more then an assistance, even a guidance. Afterwards the forwardnesse of the Scottish Nation to advance their Armies into the English Fields for the helpe of England against the Common Enemies of Church and State, was an Act of brotherly love never to be forgotten without due and thankfull acknowledgement, and encouragement. But yet let the good pleasure of the Lord bee acknowledged, who out of his abundant grace, hath granted the chiefest successes to the English designes by the Forces of the Independents, which may not be denied without too much ingratitude both to God and man. Let all

PART I. all the glory thereof be wholly and solely given to the Lord: but yet let not the instruments be accounted unfruitfull, by whom the Lord hath brought forth such blessed Fruits of victory, and libertie, both from civill servitude, and superstitious thraldome, and withall so great an advancement of Reformation both in Church and State.

The inundation of Sects and Heresies in *London*, and the retarding of Reformation in England, which have both of them been objected as the bitter fruits of the Congregationall way, have been cleared above, to spring from other Roots, not from that way. See Chap. 3. Sect. 5. the end of it.

PART.

The second Part (being Doctrinal, and Controversal) Concerning Congregational Churches and their Government.

The PREFACE.

THE Author of the Book intituled *Vindiciæ Clavium*, thought good to conceal his own Name, though in matters of Accusation (whereof the Book is full.) It was the manner of the Romans (and that Roman manner was but just and equal) to have the Accuser *shew himself face to face*. Acts. 25. 16. And indeed the equity and equality of Brotherly love would have required him either to have declared his owne Name, or to have concealed mine as well as his owne. A little love amongst Brethren would sooner heal the dissentions of Brethren, then great store of Books, breathing lust to contention. It is neither Presbyterians, nor those of the Congregational way (whom they call Independents) that do hinder either Reformation or Peace: but onely the want of ἀληθεύειν ἐν Ἀγάπῃ, the want of following and holding forth the Truth (or that which we believe to be the Truth) in love, on both sides: It is love that edifieth both souls and States.

But since the Author of *Vindiciæ* is pleased to conceal his Name, I therefore think it not amiss (for brevities sake, and to prevent a long Periphrasis of the Author of *Vindiciæ Clavium*) when I am occasioned to name him (which is very often) onely to take leave to call him *Vindex*, or (in English) sometime the *Assertor*, sometime the *Avenger*; which both the Title and Purport of his Book, do hold him forth to be, as acting the part of both.

The scope of his Book (so far as it concerneth me) is chiefly to shew forth my weaknesses and contradictions, as his Title manifesteth. But if Christ may have any glory by that, I shall willingly acknowledge (without his accusation, and much more without his conviction) that I am made up of weaknesses and contradictions. The best good in me is but weak at the best: and that which is corrupt, is weaknes it self. If there be Old and New man in me (as by the grace of Christ I see what I am) verily I cannot but finde a bundle, not onely of contradictions, but of con-

trafactions in my self. I believe, I doubt: I allow, I condemn: I hope, I fear: I love, I hate: I rejoyce, I grieve: I would, I would not: I do, I undo: the same self, the same thing, at the same time.

Nevertheles all this will not argue that which the *Avenger* saith; "*He hath heard, that I have often altered my Judgement* "*since I went to New-England: Nor that the Author of the* Keys *does contradict the Author of the* Way, *which is himself.*

I have not had liberty to peruse the *Way*, since it was published: but I see by the first words of it, that the Publishers had not the Copie which was taken hence from me, but an imperfect Transcript. But I do believe what the Publishers do report; *That set-* "*ing aside some difference in Logical Termes, there is no material* "*difference between the* Keyes *and the* Way, *either in Doctrine of* "*Divinity, or in Church-practise.*

Yes, (saith the *Avenger*) I finde, He doth (in these) as flatly contradict himself, as ever any man did. "*Instance in one place,* "*(and leave the rest to the following discourse.) In the* Keyes, "(*Pag.* 4.) he saith; *The Keys were delivered to* Peter *as an* "*Apostle, as an Elder, and as a Believer. The sense of the* "*Words (of* Christ *to* Peter) *will be most full, if all the several* "*considerations be taken joyntly together.* But in the *Way*, (Pag. 27.) He saith, "*The Power of the Keys is given to the Church, to* "Peter *not as an Apostle, not as an Elder, but as a professt Believer:* "*Is not this a flat contradiction?*

Answ. 1. The words are not mine, but the *Assertors*, which he reporteth me to say in the *Keys*; "*The Keys were delivered to* "Peter, *as an Apostle, as an Elder, and as a Believer.* I would be loth to be found to speak so il-Logically, as to say, *Socrates* hath a power of motion given to him, as a living Creature, as a Man, as a Philosopher. It is a trivial rudiment in Schools, Whatsoever is attributed to any as such, is given to all such universally, and to such reciprocally, and onely. If the Keys were delivered to *Peter* as an Apostle, then to all the Apostles, and onely to the Apostles. My words expressed by me are plain enough, and (I thank God) not destitute of reason. "*It hath proved a busie question, how* Pe- "ter *is to be considered in receiving this Power of the Keys, whether* "*as an Apostle, or as an Elder* (*for an Elder also he was*) *or as a* "*Believer, professing his Faith before the Lord Jesus, and his fel-* "*low Brethren.*

I added;

I added indeed, the ſenſe of the words of Chriſt to *Peter*, (*To "thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven*) *will be moſt "full, if all the ſeveral conſiderations be taken joyntly together.*

Wherein as I expound mine owne meaning in the words following (in that Treatiſe of the *Keys*) So the Publiſhers of the *Keys*, do fitly expreſs the ſame in their Epiſtle ["*The Diſpoſal* (ſay they) "*of this Power, may lie in a due allotment into divers* "*hands according to their ſeveral concernments; rather then in an* "*entire and ſole Truſt committed to any one man, or any ſort or* "*rank of Men, or Officers.*] What ſaith the *Avenger* to this? "*Herein* (ſaith he) *Perhaps we might agree with them, but then* "*not with the Author, Who places all the power in one ſort of men* "*alone, that is, the Brethren without Officers, in the* Way, *pag.* 45. But the *Aſſertor* taketh too much liberty, to affirm, I ſay that in that place, which in the ſame paſſage I do expreſly deny; My words are expreſs, "*They*, (that is the Brethren) *may not admi-* "*niſter Sacraments in defect of all Officers, becauſe by the appoint-* "*ment of Chriſt, that pertaineth onely to ſuch as are called by Office* "*to preach the Goſpel. Matth.* 28. 19. 20.

But (ſaith the *Avenger*) in the *Way* (page 27.) He ſaith "*The Power of the Keys is given to the Church, to* Peter, *not as an* "*Apoſtle, nor as an Elder, but as a profeſt Believer, in the name of* "*Believers. Is not this a flat contradiction?* No verily, the Solution is very eaſie and obvious, even to the *Avenger* himſelf, if he would but have caſt his eye upon the very next words in the *Keys*, whence this ἐναντιόφανες is fetched. The words run thus, "*The* "*ſenſe of the Words will be moſt full, if all the ſeveral conſiderati-* "*ons be taken joyntly together. Take* Peter *conſidered not onely as* "*an Apoſtle, but withal an Elder alſo, and a Believer too, pro-* "*feſſing his Faith, all may Well ſtand together. For there is a diffe-* "*rent power given to all theſe, to an Apoſtle, to an Elder, to a* "*Believer: and* Peter *Was all theſe, and received all the Power* "*which was given by Chriſt to any of theſe, or to all of theſe toge-* "*ther.---- So that* Auguſtine *did not miſtake, When he ſaid,* "Peter *Received the Keyes in the Name of the Church.*

I cannot conceive what ſhould move the *Avenger* ſo confidently to charge a *flat contradiction in theſe two paſſages, and that as flatly as ever man did contradict himſelf*: unles it were partly through miſ-report of my words in the one place: whereof before) partly, through miſ-apprehenſion what the force in Logick is, of a *qua-*

tenus tale : For he that knoweth that, he is not ignorant, that if *Peter* had received the Power of the Keys, *quatenus Apoſtolus*, or *quatenus Preſbyter*, as an Apoſtle, or as an Elder; then onely Apoſtles, or onely Elders had received all Church power, which all judicious Divines, and (I doubt not) himſelf amongſt them will utterly deny. But he that ſaith *Peter* received the power of the Keys, as ſtanding in the room of all ſorts of Officers and Members of the Church, and ſo in the name of the whole Church, He affirmeth that *Peter* received all Church power, which is found in all profeſt Believers, whether Officers, or private Brethren: and of Officers, whether Ordinary, as Elders; or Extraordinary, as Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts. And is there any paſſage in the *Keys* which croſſeth or contradicteth this? and that flatly, and ſo flatly, as never any man more?

Let this ſerve for my firſt Anſwer to this Contradiction: let me alſo add another.

Anſw. 2. If there had been ſome difference between the *Way* and the *Keyes* in ſome expreſſions: yet (as the Præfacers related from a Letter of mine to a friend of theirs:) it lay rather in Logical Termes, then in Doctrine of Divinity, or Church-Practiſe: And ſuch, amongſt others, is this very point in hand. If there ſeem to be any difference in the expreſſion of the one Treatiſe, or of the other, about this point, it is in the firſt Subject of the Power of the *Keys* (which is a Logical Notion:) but the point is the ſame, both in Doctrine of Divinity, and in Church-practiſe.

As for the imputation of Inconſtancy, which the *Avenger* is pleaſed to put upon me, "*He hath heard that I have often altered my Judgement ſince I went to New-England*: I ſhould thank him if he would tell me either wherein I have altered my Judgement, or from whom he ſo heard: Mean while, he may do well to remember, That a Citizen of *Zion* (a pure member of a pure Church) taketh not up *a Reproach againſt his Neighbour*. Pſal. 15. 3. *John Baptiſt* was ſurmiſed by ſome to be a *Reed ſhaken with the Wind*; but it was a windy Fancy.

3. And for a third Anſwer, It were no juſt matter of calumny if in ſome latter Tractate I ſhould retract, or expreſs more commodiouſly, what I wrote in a former leſs ſafely. *Auguſtine* (as much above me, as the Moon to a little Star,) loſt no whit of his Reputation in the Church, by writing two whole Books of Retractations of his own Opinions and Expreſſions.

CHAP.

§ CHAP. I.

Of the CHURCH, *to which Christ committed the Power of the Keyes.*

Section I.

Vindex doth here first enquire what I mean by this Church: whereof, though he might fully have informed himself from the fifth point of the first Chapter of the *Keys* (which himself had in hand:) yet in hope of some advantage, He chose rather to fetch it from another Tract of mine, touching our Church-Way: Which though he say, it went up and down in the dark; yet its dark walking was no intent of mine, but that it should find either timely impression, or (by advice of friends) utter suppression. Now in that Tract I said, The Church to which the Lord Jesus committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, (*Mat.*16.19.) is *Cœtus Fidelium*, commonly called a particular visible Church, meeting together with common and joynt consent into one Congregation, for publike worship, and mutual edification.

" *But* (saith the *Avenger*) *of all the rest this is the most improbable sense of our Saviours words, If by the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, he meaneth that Church of which he spake before in* vers. 18. *But that was either the Catholick Visible Church: or rather the Invisible Mystical Church; for that only is built upon the Rock, and against that the gates of Hell shall never prevail: Whereas Particular Churches may fail.*

Answ. 1. It is not a more improbable sense of our Saviours words, to understand the Kingdom of Heaven (*Matth.* 16. 19.) of a Particular Visible Church, rather then of the Catholick Visible Church. For I do not read that the Scripture doth any where acknowledge a Catholick Visible Church at all. The Catholick Church is not Visible as a Church: and the Church that is Visible, is not Catholick. Doctor *Ames* his Judgement seems to me more Orthodoxal, *Ecclesia non est tota simul Visibilis. Medull. l.* 1. *c.* 32. *num.* 1. For though the whole Church (or which is all one, the Catholick Church) may be Visible in her singular Members; yet so they are not a Church. Or though it may

may be Visible in the several Particular Congregations, yet none of them is Catholick. Or though all of them together may be called a Catholick Church, or General Assembly, if they were met together; Yet I suppose, *Vindex* would be loth to say, That Christ giveth the Power of the Keyes (all Ecclesiastical Power) into their hands. Such general Assemblies are rare and extraordinary; and extraordinary Assemblies are not fit Judicatories to hear and censure ordinary offences, or to administer the ordinary Acts of Church-Power.

Answ. 2. He therefore distrusting (as it seemeth) that to be the meaning of our Saviours words (to understand the Kingdom of Heaven of the Catholick Visible Church) He expoundeth it rather to be meant of the Invisible Mystical Church. And indeed, true it is, that *Peter* and other Preachers of the Gospel have received such a Power of the Keys, as by the Ministery of the Word, to beget Faith in their Hearers, and so to open to them a dore into the Invisible Church: as also to convince unbelievers of their damnable Estate, and so Ministerially to declare them shut out from the fellowship of the Invisible Church. But there is also a Power of the Keyes, to open a dore unto profest Believers into the Visible Church: and again to shut them out of the Visible Church, when they grow scandalous. And therefore the Visible Church cannot be excluded from one part of the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven, whereof *Peter* received the Keyes.

Besides, certain it is, that when by the power of the Keyes, a Believer is received into the Invisible Church, he can never be shut again out of that Church. But the Keyes here given to *Peter*, have a Power to shut out of the Kingdom of heaven, even the same Persons, unto whom they have opened the dore before. And therefore the Kingdom of Heaven (whereof *Peter* received the Keyes) is not meant onely of the Invisible Church, but of the Visible Church also,

Answ. 3. The reasons which *Vindex* objecteth to the contrary, will not prevail against this Truth, no more then the gates of hell against the Church.

Object. 1. *It is the Invisible Church onely which is built upon the Rock, and against that, the gates of Hell shall never prevail: whereas Particular Churches may fail.*

Answ. It is not true, that the Invisible Church onely is built upon

upon a Rock; for Particular Churches are built upon a Rock also. Built they are upon Divine Institution, and Christ is laid for the foundation of them; or else they are not Churches of Christ, which are described to be *in God our Father, and in our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Thes. 1. 1. The Apostle *Paul* laid Christ for the foundation of the Visible Church of Corinth; 1 Cor. 3. 10, 11. Christ is not the head of that Church whereof he is not the foundation: and where he is the foundation, he is also the Rock, on which they are built; for he is not a sandy foundation.

" *Yea, but Particular Churches may fail.*

What then? So may the true Disciples of Christ fail (in respect of bodily subsistence) and yet the gates of Hell never prevail against them; For they will be received into everlasting habitations. Luke 16. 9.

" *Yea, but Particular Churches may fail and fall away from* " *the Faith; all the Churches of Asia are fallen from* Christ *to* " *Mahomet: and sundry in Europe, from Christ to Anti-* " *Christ.*

Yet those Churches that were founded upon Christ, and builded upon that Rock, they neither failed, nor fell away. It was their Successors, and not they, that failed, and fell in that sort. If the Posterity of an holy Particular Church do degenerate, they were never founded upon Christ, but in an outward form. God may remove the Candlestick (that is) his particular Church) out of that place (say out of Corinth or Ephesus, *Rev.* 2. 5.) yet he will ever have some or other Particular Churches visible in one place or other; and so against that Church state, the gates of hell shall never prevail. Dr *Whitakers* declareth the Judgement of Orthodox Protestants in this point; *Nos dicimus, aliquam semper fore in mundo Ecclesiam, quæ Christo pareat, eamque visibilem, De Ecclesia,* Quest. 3. Cap. 2. *Junius* in his Animadverversions *in* Bellarm. Controv. 4. de Concil. & Eccles. Cap. 13. Art. 1. *Concludimus inquit, ne visibilem quidem Ecclesiam, posse Deficere, atque interire, adeo ut in se ipsa sit invisibilis, &c.* And Doctor *Ames* beareth the like witnes. *Ecclesia nunquam plane desinit esse visibilis.* Medull. l. 1 cap. 31. And this they intend of some Particular Visible Church or other. For a Catholick Visible Church they dispute against, but maintain the Catholick Church to be invisible. *Whitakers* de Ecclesia Q. 2a. 10, *Dicimus Ecclesiam Catholicam invisibilem esse, etiam tum cum Particularis quæq; Ecclesia vel maxime floret.*

Obj.

Object. 2. "*The Kingdom of Glory is one part of the meaning of the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is not contradistinguished to a Particular Congregation, but to the General Visible Church on Earth.*

Answ. There is not any Particular Congregation on earth, but may be, upon just occasion, contradistinguished from the Kingdom of Glory. It may truly be said, whosoever is duly bound or loosed in any one Particular Church, is also bound and loosed in the Kingdom of Glory. There is no semblance of difficulty herein.

Nevertheles, when (in the *Keyes* page 2.) I spake of the Power of the Keyes given to *Peter* to bind on earth, I did not mean it in any one single Particular Church on earth alone, but generally and indefinitely, in every Particular Church on earth. For every Apostle had transcendent power in every Particular Church on earth: And every Particular Church on earth (being all of one common Nature militant here on Earth, and different from the Tryumphant Church in Heaven) may justly be contradistinguished from the Kingdom of Glory. But yet I never dreamed of a General Visible Church on earth (as *Vindex* expoundeth me:) unles he mean it, as Visible in Particular Congregations. And if he so mean, it will better express the Truth, and my meaning, to say, That *Peter* received the Keyes to bind and loose (as in the invisible Church in some sort, so) in the Particular Visible Church indefinitely; that is, in every Particular Visible Church on earth. For a Particular Visible Church is of a common and general nature, and comprehendeth in it every singular Particular Visible Church, as that of Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, and the rest.

Object. 3. "*That Church is meant* (*in Matth.* 16. 19.) "*whereof* Peter *was one* (VVay, *Page* 1.) *But* Peter *was not a* "*Member of such a Particular Congregation: for there was* "*none such extant, when Christ spake these words to* Peter.

Answ. I presume *Vindex* is not ignorant, that in rational discourses, and propositions of Art, The *Copula* doth not *Connotare Tempus*, but onely *Connectere* the *Subject*, and the *Prædicate*: else he will open a way to insoluble fallacies

As in that Sophisme, *Nullus Infans fuit Juvenis:*
Omnis Senex fuit Infans:
Ergo, *Nullus Senex fuit Juvenis.*

This

This Connotation of time in the *Copula*, breedeth the Fallacy; Let *Vindex* therefore be pleaſed to leave ſuch arguings to Sophiſters, or make uſe of them when he will refreſh his wit in Argument with young Scholars. But amongſt Brethren, what if I ſhould ſay, Reſurrection to glory is given to the Bodies of the faithful, whereof Elect Infants are a part? Though the reſurrection be not yet come, nor Elect Infants yet come to be faithful? yet the Propoſition is true, becauſe the *Subject* and *Prædicate* have true Connexion in the nature of the thing, though not in the preſent order of time. When Chriſt directed his Diſciples, and amongſt them, *Peter*, in caſe of private offence, and obſtinacy therein, at length, to tell the Church, whether by Church be meant the Particular Congregation, or the Presbyterie; neither of them both were then extant, when Chriſt ſpake theſe words to *Peter*. But will that be a good Argument to prove, That Chriſt did not direct the offended Brother either to tell the Particular Church, or to tell the Presbyterie, becauſe neither of them were then extant?

Object. 4. "*That Church whereof* Peter *received the Keyes, "was ſuch, whereto* Peter *or any offended Brother might tell an "offence, and have it cenſured. But that was never done in a "Church of Saints, Believers without Officers; nor was the "Church of Corinth ſuch a Church, but had Officers, who might "authoritatively cenſure the inceſtuous Perſon, &c.*

Anſw. This is another paſſage of Sophiſtry, but ſomwhat more open.--- For if the Objection be caſt into a true Syllogiſme, it will run thus: The Church of which *Peter* received the Keyes, was ſuch to which *Peter*, and any offended Brother might tell an offence, and have it cenſured. But the Church of Saints and Believers without Officers, was not ſuch to whom *Peter*, or any offended Brother might tell an offence, and have it cenſured.

Thus the *minor* is juſtly denied: and therefore *Vindex* chuſeth rather to put his *minor* in other termes;

The Church of Saints and Believers without Officers, was not ſuch a Church, to whom *Peter* or any offended Brother did tell an offence.

But now there is *Quatuor Termini* in his Syllogiſme: Might tell an offence, and Did tell an offence, make two different *Mediums*. What if the Church of Corinth when they cenſured the Inceſtuous Perſon, were not ſuch a Church without Offi-

cers? Or, what if no Church wanted Presbyters in the Apostles times? If it were so, it was the greater bounty of Christ to them in those Primitive times, when the gifts of the Spirit were poured out in more abundance. But yet if a Church of Saints, or Believers without Officers, have power from Christ to elect Officers, then have they power also much more to admit Members. And if they have power to admit them without Officers, they have like power upon just offence to exclude them out of their holy Communion without Officers. For it is the same power to open and to shut, *Instituere, & destituere.*

Object. 5. "*The Church to which the Keyes are given, are "said to be such as do all of them meet in one place for the admini-"stration of the Ordinances of Christ:*

"*But the Ordinances of Christ are not to be found, much less ad-"ministred in a Church of Believers without Officers.*

Answ. This latter Proposition is left naked and unguarded without proof. And I confess, *Ipse dixit* may go for a warrant in *Pythagorean* Philosophy: and *teste me ipso* may go for a warrant in Royal Grants of Favour: but not in matters of Faith, nor of Justice between King and Subject, much less in matters of controversie amongst Brethren. The truth is, Though the Ordinances of Christ may not all of them be administred in a Church of Believers without Officers, and authoritative dispensing of the VVord and Censures, and Ministration of Sacraments: yet some Ordinances of Christ may be found and administred in a Church of Believers without Officers. As it is an Ordinance of Christ, two or three of them (much more all of them) to meet and pray together, and admonish one another in Christs Name, Matth. 18. 20. It is an Ordinance of Christ, to elect Officers, (Deacons and Elders:) for this is the power and priviledge of the Church of Brethren. Though *Titus* was left in Crete to ordain Elders in every Citie (Tit. 1. 5.) yet not to elect them: As *Cyprian* argueth from sundry passages of the Acts of the Apostles, and other Scriptures; and thereupon inferreth, *Plebs Dominicis Præceptis obsequens, & Deum metuens---- ipsa maxime potestatem habet, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Cyprian. Epistolarum. l. 1. Epistola. 4.*

And if a Church of Believers may thus supply themselves with Officers when they want them, and if Officers and Brethren have all ordinary Church power, (and so all Ordinances of Christ, which

which are ordinarily administred, found amongst them) then what hindreth, but that a Church of Believers hath in it, as some Ordinances formally, so all radically and virtually, and the same administred, and administrable amongst them?

Object. 6. "*When it is said (in the* VVay, *pag.* 1.) *Christ committed the Keyes to the Church, that is, to a Particular Congregation, it must be meant either* Subjectivè, *or* Objectivè; *If it be meant in this latter sense, That the Keyes are committed to the Church, as the Object of the exercise of the Keyes, that is, for the good and use of the Church, it is truly said, but nothing to the purpose. In this sense, the Keyes are given first and more immediately to the Invisible Mystical Church* (all are yours, whether *Paul*, &c.) *then to the General Visible Church for their sakes; then to the Particular Congregation, as a part and Member of that General Visible Church.*

"*But if it be meant in the former sense* (*as it must be so meant, or else the Author of the* VVay *doth equivocate with us from the beginning throughout the Whole Book*) *then he falleth into the extreme of the Brownists, which he so labours to avoid. For to take the Church* (*in Matth.* 16.) *For a particular Congregation of Believers without Officers, is a new, strange, and false Gloss, maintained by none but Brownists, and such like Separatists.*

Answ. VVhen I said Christ committed the Keyes to the Church, that is, to a Particular Congregation, I meant it indeed *Subjective*, though not excluding *Objective*. For I do not make the Particular Visible Church a different Church from the Invisible. The distribution of the Church into Visible and Invisible, is not into divers kinds of Churches, nor into divers kindes of Members of the same Church, but into divers Adjuncts of the same Members of the same Church: who in respect of their Spiritual and Internal Estate (to wit, their Faith) are Invisible: but in respect of their External condition (to wit, the Profession of Faith) are Visible. The Particular Church (I speak of it indefinitely) receiveth the power of the Keyes both *Subjective* to it self, and *Objective* for it self, though the saving benefit thereof redound onely to the Elect amongst them, who are also of them. "Neither is this *to fall into the extreme of* (*those whom you call*) "*Brownists, to take the Church for a Particular Congregation* "*without Officers.*

For first, VVhen I wrote that Proposition (in the first words

of the *Way*) it was not then in my mind to understand any other Particular Congregation to which Christ had committed all ordinary Church Power, and the administration thereof, but to a Congregation of Believers furnished with Officers. For I spake of such a Church whereof *Peter* was one; and he was an Officer. Though I perceive M. *Rutterford* understood me otherwise, (as you also do:) and so from thence raiseth his first controversie: "*Whether the Church of Believers destitute of the Eldership, have* "*the power of the Keyes?*

VVhich (to avoid misconstruction) I expressed more distinctly in the Tract of the *Keyes*. But yet, take it as he doth, for a Church of Believers without Officers; They have received some part of the Power of the Keyes formally, as the election of Officers, &c. and the whole ordinary Power of the Keyes, radically and virtually. The stock of the Vine (which groweth in the bulk from the root) hath not immediate power to bring forth Grapes; but yet it hath power to produce branches, which do bring forth Grapes: So the Body of the Church of Believers, though they have not immediate power of rule authoritatively to dispense the VVord, or to administer Sacraments at all: yet they have power to produce such Officers as may perform the same.

Again secondly, Dr *Whitakers* was none of them whom you call Brownists, yet he speaking of this Text (which you quote in this Paragraph, to prove that Ministers are given to the Church *objective*, for their good, not *subjective*, so as the Church to have power over them. 1 *Cor.* 3. 22. 23. He beareth witnes against your glos: "*Apostolus* saith he, *non tantum ait Ministros in-*"*stitutos esse propter utilitatem Ecclesiæ: sed sic illos esse* "*Ecclesiæ, ut Ecclesia est Christi. At Ecclesia Chri-*"*sto subjicitur non propter Christi utilitatem instituta est.* "*Et Apostolus Ecclesiam esse Dei Templum, affirmat: Ministri* "*in Templo, non supra Templum. Whitak. Controv.* 4. *Quæst.* 1. *Num.* 11. *in fine.* Neither was *Parker* one of those whom you call Brownists, or such like Separatists, but wrote against them. But yet he understandeth the Church (*Matth.* 16.) of a particular Congregation of Believers, as distinct from Officers: yea and proveth it at large. *Parker de Ecclesiastica Politia, l.* 3. *cap.* 1, 2, 3.

Object. 7. *To conclude, the Church of which our Saviour* "*speaketh, is called here the Kingdom of Heaven (on Earth:) But* "*a Par-*

"*a Particular Congregation of Believers is never called the* "*Kingdom of Heaven; being but a Member or Corporation of* "*that Kingdom. It were as improper to call a Congregation, Christs* "*Kingdom, as to call London the Kingdom of England.*

Answ. 1. It is not material whether a Particular Congregation of Believers be ever expresly called the Kingdom of Heaven or no; It is enough it is called a Church, yea as it is distinguished from Church Officers. Those whom he calleth the whole Church distinguished from the Apostles and Elders (*Acts* 15. 22.) the same he calleth the Brethren, vers. 23. And if the Brethren may be called the Church, they may justly also be called the Kingdom of Heaven, seing the style of the Kingdom of Heaven is usually given to the Church. You may more truly observe, that the Presbyterie is never called in Scripture the Kingdom of Heaven: no, nor are they called the Church, unles it be in that one place *Matth.* 18.17.) which yet may sooner be presumed, then proved to be understood of the Presbyterie; I mean, a Consistory of Presbyters, distinct from the Congregation of Believers.

Answ. 2. I dare not say that the Particular Visible Church is never called the Kingdom of Heaven. For when Christ went out to hire labourers into his Vineyard, it was into this or that Particular Church, respectively. And this Vineyard thus destitute of Labourers or Officers, and distinguished from them, is called the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth.* 20. 1.

Again, when the Kingdom of Heaven is compared to ten Virgins, five wise, and five foolish, (*Matth.* 25. 1, 2.) this is a description of the estate of each Particular Church, respectively; without respect to their Officers. Besides, when the Kingdom of God is said to be within us, (*Luke* 17. 21. And all the faithful are said to be made Kings and Priests unto God (*Rev.* 1. 6.) Even a Kingdom of Priests (1 *Pet.* 2. 9.) can it then be termed an improper speech to call a Particular Church of Believers, the Kingdom of Heaven?

"*Yes, they are but a Member, or Corporation of the King-* "*dom: and it were improper to call London the Kingdom of* "*England.*

But every similar part of a similar Body doth properly partake both in the Name and Nature of the whole. Every part of water is water, and is both cold and moist, as the whole water is. And such a part of such a Body, is a Particular Visible Church.

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The Church of Corinth is said to be the Body of Christ, and the members thereof, members in particular. And Christ hath given unto them all his Officers, as well as unto other Churches, 1 *Cor.* 11. 27, 28. But such is not the State of London. London is not a similar, but a dissimilar part of England, and different from all the Corporations of England, different in power, different in priviledges: How then can a comparison of unequals, be drawn to parallel a state of equalls.

¶ *What the* KEYES *of the Kingdom of* HEAVEN *be.*

Section II.

IN opening what the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven be, it was not my intent to enumerate them all distinctly and particularly in that first Chapter of the description of the Keys, which was but a Preface and Introduction to the whole Tractate. I thought it enough to give an instance onely in general, there, in two or three examples; reserving a more exact distribution of them to the chapters following: and referring each sort of them to their several Subjects in their proper place, lest I might clogg my self and the Reader with needles repetitions. I therefore contented my self to say in general, "*The Keyes are the Ordinances of Christ, which* "*he hath instituted to be administred in his Church, as the preach-* "*ing of the Word, as also the administring of the Seals and Cen-* "*sures.*

I instanced in these, as most obvious, and of easiest apprehension to any vulgar Reader. But in instancing these, I supposed no man would be of so narrow apprehension, as not to conceive those things to be included, without which, these cannot duly be performed. As, the word cannot be preached, nor the Sacraments dispensed, without a vocation unto such spiritual Administrations. Nor can it be doubted, that if there must be a vocation to administer these, there must be also some, who have power from Christ to give such a vocation.

Albeit, If it had been of any weight for the expediting of any controversie about the Keyes (which I know none:) I might easily have given some definition of the Keyes, as to say, The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven are spiritual Powers given by Christ

Christ to his Church to dispense the Treasures of his Kingdom, for the opening and shuting, binding and loosing the spiritual Estates of men in the Church. By spiritual Powers, I mean spiritual callings, and spiritual gifts fitting for them, enabling to some spiritual Acts: By the treasures of the Kingdom I mean the Word, Seals, and Censures, and the spiritual blessings laid up in them. But Callings, Gifts, and Treasures, are all of them Ordinances. The other parts of the Definition, what be the Acts, and Ends, Objects, and Subjects of this power, I opened formerly in the third, fourth, and fifth Paragraphs of the first chapter of the *Keyes*.

But upon what I expressed in this Paragraph, *Vindex* is pleased to animadvert some things.

1. "*In this Paragraph* (saith he) *as you do cleerly lay down the* "*state of the Question: so do you strongly confute the scope of your* "*whole Boook, which is to give the People a share in the Govern-* "*ment of the Church.*

Answ. Vindex doth cleerly mistake my scope and meaning, to think I did lay down the state of the Question in this Paragraph. For I think it is no Question at all, That the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, are the Ordinances of Christ, which he hath instituted to be administred in his Church. Neither is it the scope of my whole Book, to give the people a share in the Government of the Church: Nay, it is not the scope of the greater part of the Book: Nay further, there be that blame the Book for the other Extreme, That it placeth the Government of the Church not at all in the hands of the People, but of the Presbyterie. So various are the apprehensions of Books by variety of Readers, and by their somtime judicious, somtime cursory reading.

Least of all is there any colour for this apprehension, that I do "*in this Paragraph strongly confute the scope of my whole Book,* "*Yes* (saith he) *For if the Keyes be the Ordinances of Christ, they* "*are given indeed for the Church of Believers, that is, for their* "*good and benefit*, objective; *but are never in all the Scripture,* "*nor in all Antiquity said to be given to the Church* Subjective.

Answ. What Power I acknowledge given to the Church of Believers *Subjective*, either in admission of Members, or election of Officers, or censure of Offendors, I do alledge Scriptures for it; which when *Vindex* taketh in hand to evade them, I shall return him (God willing) further answer, which in this place were an unseasonable prevention: But when he affirmeth that such power

as

as I acknowledge given to the Church, is not to be read of in all Antiquity; it maketh me to ſuſpect, that either he hath not read All Antiquity, (which yet is no crime, onely he ſhould not then have denied them all, to own this Power; for it is not ſafe to avouch more then we know:) or if he have read them all, he hath forgotten what is recorded by the moſt ancient Antiquity for the ſpace of the firſt three hundred years, during all the time of the Primitive perſecutions. Of which I have given account to Mr *Baily* in anſwer to the Hiſtorical part of his *Diſſwaſive*, (chap. 4. Sect. 1, 2, 3.) whereto I refer him.

"*But ſaith* Vindex, *it ſoundeth ill at firſt hearing, to ſay, that "the People haue any power to exerciſe Ordinances, of Preaching, "or adminiſtring the Seals or Cenſures. The power of Preaching "or adminiſtring Sacraments by the People, as none but Separatiſts "do uſurp; ſo your ſelf complain of it, Page 6. And why you "ſhould allow them power in cenſures, there is very litt le reaſon.*

Anſw. If Preaching the Word, or Adminiſtring the Seals, were all the Ordinances which Chriſt hath inſtituted, and no more but they, *Vindex* ſaith true, it would ſound ill at firſt hearing (and if he will, at ſecond and third hearing too) to ſay, The People have any power to exerciſe theſe Ordinances; unleſs that kind of Preaching be underſtood, which D. *Ames* approveth, *l.* 4. *de Caſibus Conſcientiæ, cap.* 25. *in reſponſ.* 3. *ad Quæſt.* 1.

But to allow the people a power in Cenſures, I marvel it ſhould ſound ſo ill at firſt hearing, of ſuch whoſe ears have been long wonted to hear of Suſpenſions, and Excommunications; not onely of private Chriſtians, but even of many Miniſters, by Chancellors and Commiſſaries, who generally are no Miniſters, and it were to be wiſhed, that the moſt of them, (yea, or the beſt of them) were as good as Brethren. But yet I ſomwhat wonder, that he that in this Paragraph could alledge all Antiquity, ſhould think it to ſound ill at firſt hearing, That the Brethren of the Church ſhould have any hand in Church Cenſures; who knoweth what reverend Teſtimony Ancient *Tertullian* giveth of them (*Apologetici Capite* 39.) *Quum Probi, Cum Boni Coeunt, Cum Pii, Cum Caſti Congregantur, non Factio dicenda eſt, ſed Curia.* And what an hand *Cyprian* giveth to the People in Church cenſures, none that have read him can be ignorant. What reaſon there is for their Power in Church-cenſures (whether little, or much) we ſhall further conſider (God willing) in its place: for here you neither

neither give reasons against it, nor refute our reasons for it.

2. A second thing which *Vindex* animadverts in the former Paragraph is, "*that I call the Keyes, Ordinances, which Christ hath* "*instituted to be administred in his Church, the Church of Belie-* "*vers, a Particular Congregation.*

"*But mark it* (saith he) *not by a Church without Officers:* "*but by the Officers instituted in the Church.*

Answ. He need not have bid me to mark that, which if himself had marked, He could not but see, That I never acknowledged it to be in the power of the people to administer all Ordinances, but to administer some Ordinances themselves, and to elect and call such to them, as might administer all the rest.

3. His third Animadversion is, "*That I say, the Keys are* "*neither Sword nor Scepter: for they convey not Soveraign power;* "*but Stewardly and Ministerial: which cleerly* (saith he) *ex-* "*cludeth the People; for they have no Stewardly or Ministerial* "*Power over themselves.*

Answ. As if the People were not Stewards of the Grace of God given to them! The Apostle *Peter* maketh account, That *as every man hath received the gift, so he should minister the same, as good Stewards of the manifold Grace of God.* 1 *Pet.* 4. 10. If the people have received any gift of Grace, they are either Stewards of it, or Lords: Lords they are not, who must give account to the Lord for the employment and improvement of their gifts: what are they else then but Stewards? Yea, (you will say) but private men may bestow their Gifts privately. But election of Officers is a publike Gift, whatsoever else beside; and that must be dispensed publikely; and that not as Lords, to elect whom they list, but as Stewards and Ministers to Christ, to elect whom the Lord hath chosen.

"*I said indeed* (*in that Paragraph*) *That Christ in giving the* "*Keyes, investeth those to Whom he giveth them, with a power to* "*open and shut the Gates both of the Church and Heaven; and* "*that this power lieth partly in their spiritual calling* (*whether it* "*be their Office, or their Place, and Order in the Church*) *and* "*partly in the concourse and co-operation of Christ, accompany-* "*ing the right dispensation of those Keyes or Ordinances.*

"*But* (saith) Vindex) *I suppose the Word Calling, should be taken* "*here of some* special Calling *or Office: which again would exclude* "*the people, as having no Office in the Church.*

Answ. There is no reason why you should suppose, That Calling here should be taken of some special Calling or Office; if special denotate a specification of a Calling distinct from other Members of the Church: But if it onely specifie a distinct calling, or state, or order different from such as are not members of the Church: so it is true indeed, every Member of the Body hath a special Calling distinct from such Believers or others, as are not yet received into Member-like communion with this or that particular Church; Yea, and every Member of this or that particular Church, hath a calling to put forth some Acts of Power in his own Church, which Members of another particular Church have not power to put forth there, though they may put forth the same each one in his owne Church, respectively: Every Member of the Body of a Particular Church hath some Function, or Action, (or as the New Translation termeth it) some office in the Body. For that which is expressed in the Protasis of the Apostles comparison, is implyed in the reddition; *Rom.* 12. 4, 5. As we have many Members in one Body, and all Members have not the same office: so we being many, are one Body in Christ, &c. If all the Members of the Body have not the same office, it implyeth, they have all of them some office or function, or action, though not the same. But custom hath obtained, that they onely are accounted to have a special calling or office in the Church, who are set apart for the eminent administrations in the Church; as the Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons. And such a special calling, it is not requisite that the common Brethren of the Church should have, to dispense that power of the Keyes which is committed to them. For Christ hath neither called them to it, nor given them gifts suitable for it.

"*But (saith* Vindex) *When you say the Power of the Keyes lieth* "*in their Spiritual calling* (*whether it be their Office or Place, and* "*Order in the Church:*) *you add this explication on purpose to steal* "*in the interest of the People in some share of the Keys.*

Answ. It is not stealth, but Justice to give every man his own: Liberty, to whom liberty; power, to whom power; honour, to whom honour belongeth. The Psalmist foretold it in a new song (all which new songs have special accomplishment in the new Testament) That this honour have all his Saints, to wit, in the Congregation of Saints to execute the spiritual censures (or Judgments) written, *Psal.* 149. 9. And if the Lord have given them this honour, it is rather stealth (yea sacriledge) to take it from them, then to allow it to them.

But

"*But (saith* Vindex) *if place, or Order in the Church, do* "*give the People out of Office, any Power in the Keyes; that is,* "*in the Ordinances; then may Women and Children claim an In-* "*terest in those Keys, for they have a Place and Order in the* "*Church as well as men.*

Answ. It is not every place or order in the Church, that giveth power to receive the ordinances administred by others, much less power, themselves to dispense ordinances. Children have not power to receive the Lords Supper, much less to administer it. And for Women, God hath expresly forbidden them all place of speech and power in the Church: 1 *Cor.* 14. 34. 1 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. unless it be to joyn with the rest of the Church, in singing forth the publike praises of the Lord. Let every soul enjoy such priviledges and liberties, as the Lord hath given him in his place and order: and neither affect nor attempt more. The Female Sex, and Non-age, fall short of some power, which Christ hath given to the Brotherhood.

¶ *Of the Subject to whom the Power of the* Keyes *is given.*

Section III.

I Conceive it would be some loss of time and labour, to argue this Question with *Vindex* alone: whose exceptions so far as they concern the point in controversie, are but collections out of the writings of others, who have more distinctly and elabourately disputed the cause. And therefore it will be requisite, in this, and the like points in controversie, rather to consider what hath been written by learned and reverend M. *Rutterford*, and M. *Baily*, and yet by the way, not to neglect what personal exceptions *Vindex* hath taken at my self.

In the Way of the Churches of New-England, chap. 1. sect. 1. it was laid down for the first Proposition: "*That the Church* "*which Christ in the Gospel hath instituted, and to which he hath* "*committed the Keyes of his Kingdom, The power of binding and* "*loosing, the Tables and Seals of the Covenant, the Officers and* "*Censures of his Church, the administration of all his publike* "*Worship and Ordinances, is* Cœtus Fidelium, *a company of Be-* "*lievers, meeting in one place every Lords day, for the admini-*

"*ſtration of the holy Ordinances of God to publike edification.*

Vpon this Propoſition M. *Rutterford* (as he excelleth in acutenes and Scholaſtical Argumentativenes) hath raiſed four Queſtions, though ſome of them more then I did intend to point at in the Propoſition. Let us conſider of them in their order, not with a ſpirit of contention (which himſelf in his Epiſtle to the Reader, candidly profeſſeth againſt) but with a ſpirit ſtudious of Truth and Peace.

The firſt Queſtion he raiſeth from that Propoſition, is this: "*Whether a company of Believers and Saints, builded by Faith* "*upon the Rock Chriſt, and united in a Church-Covenant, be the* "*onely inſtituted Viſible Church of the New-Teſtament, to the* "*which Chriſt hath given the Keys?*

Himſelf underſtandeth the Propoſition, as if it held forth the Affirmative. But in very Truth, as the word [onely] is not in the Propoſition: ſo it was far from my intendment, to exclude an Organical Church (a Church furniſhed with all her officers) from being an inſtituted Viſible Church of the New Teſtament, as well as *Cœtus Fidelium*, a company of Chriſtians without Officers. When the Propoſition ſpeaketh of Officers as given to the Church, it intendeth them not as meer adjuncts given to a Subject, but as Integral parts given to the whole Body of the Church, for completing the integrity and perfection of it. And ſo much the very words of the Propoſition do imply; for it ſpeaketh of ſuch "*a Church, to Whom Chriſt hath given the adminiſtration of all his* "*publike Worſhip and Ordinances: which is not a power given to a* "*Church of private Believers, deſtitute of Officers.* Howſoever they may be capable (more or leſs) of ſome ſpiritual Adminiſtrations: yet doubtles they are not capable of all: and for inſtance, not of the adminiſtration of Sacraments, without Officers.

Neither was it my intendment in that Propoſition, to exclude lawful Synods (gathered, and proceeding according to the pattern, Acts 15.) from all participation in ſome part of the power of the Keyes. For they have a power to decide controverſies from the Word, and to appoint a courſe for the preventing and healing of offences, and for agreement in the Truth according to the Word. But theſe Synods are not the ordinary ſtanding Judicatories of the Church: neither do they convene, nor exerciſe their directive Power, but when the particular Churches lie under variance or offence, or are not yet ſetled in a way of Truth and Peace.

Peace. But my intendment simply was, That each particular Church when it is organized with all his Officers, and walketh in a way of Truth and Peace; There is no part of the power of the Keyes, but a particular Church hath received it within it self, and may administer the same to the edification of the whole body.

Neither let it be thought (in that first Proposition) That I intended to invest a Church of Believers (without officers) with all the power of the Keyes, because I speak of the Election and ordination of officers afterwards. For so I speak also of the gathering and admission of Members: and yet it may not be inferred, that I should intend a Church invested with all power, which yet is destitute both of Members, and Officers. But it is a well known rule of *Method*, to define or describe at first, *Totum Integrale*, with the proper Adjuncts (or Passions) of it, and then to descend to set forth the severall Members, and integrall parts thereof, with their severall operations in due place.

So that this first question raised from this first Proposition is no question at all; and therefore it will not be needfull to examine the distinctions, or conclusions raised up against it. For they do not contradict the true meaning of the Proposition, unlesse it be some parts of the second conclusion, which come in their place to be considered of in the sequele.

¶ *Touching the power of the Keyes in the Church of Believers without Officers.*

Sect. IIII.

THe second question, which M. *Rutterford* raised out of the first Proposition formerly mentioned, is

" *Whether or not, Christ hath committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven to the Church of Believers, which as yet wanteth* " *all Officers, Pastors, Teachers,* &c.

But this question, so far as it concerneth my Proposition, (to speak with leave and due Reverence) is as ungrounded as the former. For the Proposition speaketh not of a Church that wanteth all Officers, but of a Church that having received Officers from Christ, hath power to Administer all the Publick worship, and Ordinances of Christ. This point and my plain meaning therein, is more fully and distinctly opened in the small treatise of the Keyes.

But

But for the present stating of the question, our judgement is expressed in two Conclusions; which so far as they are controverted, are to be cleared.

First that the Church of Believers destitute of Officers, hath received some part of the Power of the Keyes: as Power to receive Members, to elect Officers, and to do such other Church Acts, as do not require Office-Rule, or Office-Power.

Secondly, that the Church of Believers, though for the present destitute of Officers, hath in it a Radical or Virtual Power, whereby it may call forth such Officers, as may Administer all those Acts of office-Rule, or Power, which of it self without them, it could not exercise.

Against these two Assertions, I do not find any thing in his distinctions or conclusions, or Arguments which doth prevail with me to depart from them, as indeed he doth not directly so much dispute against these conclusions which we hold, as against that question (which himself by mistake gathered from the Proposition) which we hold not.

" *Though I said the Keyes were given to a Church of Believers,* " *whereof Peter was one,* yet that was onely to shew, that *Peter* in his lowest spirituall relation in the Church (as a Profest Believer) had his share in the power of the Keyes: but not that he had his share in the whole power of the Keyes, as a Profest Believer: but that he had other parts of the power of the Keyes, as an Elder, and as an Apostle immediately given Him by the Lord Jesus.

In his second Distinction (*pag.7.*) " *I do not understand the safety* " *of that speech; That Pastors and Teachers are Gifts, of which the* " *Church is not capable, as a Subject.* For the Apostle saith, Christ hath given (amongst other Officers) Pastors, and Teachers to his Church. *Ephes.*4.8.11. And if He have given them to the Church, the Church is the recipient Subject of them. As if the Eye be given to the Body, the Body is the recipient Subject of it. And though the Church cannot exercise the Pastors, and Teachers place by themselves; yet they may by their Pastors and Teachers. As the Body though it cannot see by it self, yet it may by the eye, which is given to it of God for that end: Neither is it a safe speech (as I conceive) to say, " *That the Church is capable of these Gifts (Pa-* " *stors and Teachers) as the object and end, because the fruit and* " *effect of these Gifts redoundeth to the good of the Church; if that* " *be meant as the onely respect, in regard of which they are said to*

be

be given to the Church. For Pastors and Teachers are given to the Church, as Integral parts of the Church, as the Church is *Totum Integrale.* Now Integrall parts are intrinsecall and essentiall to a *Totum Integrale*, and not extrinsecall, as the object, and end be to a thing.

The Testimony which he alledgeth from Reverend *Parker*, and *Baynes*, and the *Parisian* School, doth indeed argue, that the fruit and effect of the gifts of Pastor and Teacher doth redound to the good of the Church (which no man denieth:) but M. *Rutterford* well knoweth, that *Parker*, and the *Parisian* School, do grant further (even more then I argue for) that the Church is not onely the object and end, but the first subject also of all Church-Power: which though M. *Baynes* wave (in the place alledged by him:) and dispute thereupon both against M. *Parker*, and the *Parisian* School (under the name of *Sorbonists*; yet he clearly closeth with M. *Parker* and us, in the conclusion; That the visible Church instituted by Christ and his Apostles, to which the Keyes are given, is not a *Diocesan*, or *Provinciall*, or *Nationall* Assembly, but a particular Congregation: *Diocesans* triall, Q. 1. But if M. *Rutterford* intend no more but this, That the Church is not capable of exercise of the Pastors and Doctors place, and therefore is not the first subject of their Office-power; I for my part readily close with him therein, reserving due respect to others of different judgement.

" In his third Distinction, *which he putteth between a formal* " *ordinary power, and a virtual or extraordinary power, I do not wel* " *reach his meaning*: For when *He cometh to apply this distinction* " *in his second Conclusion, He granteth a virtual Power, not For-* " *mall, in the Church of Believers to ordain Pastors, or to do some* " *such Act, as may supply the defect of ordination*: *As in a Church* " *in an Island, where the Pastors are all dead, or taken away other-* " *wayes*; *and yet he maketh not this an official, or an authoritative* " *Power properly, but a virtual, and extraordinary Power, not or-* " *dinary: like that which David had to eat the shew-Bread. And* " *in like case of extreme necessitie, he alloweth a private man en-* " *dued with gifts and zeal to teach publikely.* But I confesse, I do not well understand, how a man in case of necessity hath any virtual power to do this or that Act, but he hath also a formall power to do such an Act in that case of necessitie. Such an Act I say, either the same in kind; or the same in Analogy. When *David* did eat the shew-Bread, he had a lawfull not only virtuall, but formall power,

power, as an Israelite in necessity (to whom morall duties were to be preferred before Ceremoniall) to eat for the sustentation of life. When a free People chuse a King, and Crown him, though they be not endued with a formall, but a virtuall Soveraign Power, to give Kingly authoritie which they have not; yet they have formally a Power to yield up themselves unto subjection to such a Person as they have chosen; and that doth virtually and analogically set up him in the Throne. For He that hath formall Power to make one Relative, He hath an Analogicall Power, to set up his Correlative. They that can make themselves Subjects, can make another to be their Soveraign.

But this I willingly admit which he saith; " *That the ordination of Pastors by the Church of Believers, is not an official, nor properly an Authoritative Act of Power.* For the election of a Pastor by the Brethren of the Church, is an higher Act of power then their ordination is: As the Election of a King is an Act of higher Power, then his Coronation. And yet the Election of a Pastor, is not an Act of official, or Authoritative power: no more then the Election of a King by a free People is an Act of official, or Authoritative Soveraingtie.

As for the publike Teaching of a private man indued with gifts and zeal, I know not why it may not be allowed, not only in case of extreme necessitie, but in some cases of expediency, as when his gifts are to be proved, before he be called into office.

In the third conclusion, " M. *Rutterford* telleth us, *That as a Reasonable man is the first, immediate, and principal subject of Aptitude to laugh, and the mediate and secondary subjects are* Peter *and* John, *and such particular men: So it is the order of Nature to give Church properties, and powers, first to the* Species *and common Nature of the Church, and not to this or that particular Church.*

But this conclusion of his crosseth nothing in that first Proposition of mine, nor any other Tenent of ours. For that Proposition doth not make this or that particular Church (which is indeed a singular Church) the first subject of Church Power: But a particular visible Church, which holdeth forth the *Species* or common nature of each particular, or singular Church.

It is readily admitted what he saith, " *That to be builded on a Rock, victory over hell, and such like, are given principally and immediately to the Catholick, and Invisible Church, as to the first and principal Subject.*

But

But we cannot so easily admit that which he subjoyneth, that the Keyes are given to the Catholick Invisible Church, as the first and principal Subject (though we grant they are given for their end and use:) But we rather believe they are given to the particular Visible Church, wherein the power of the Keyes is only exercised and used. The Invisible Catholick Church doth never convene for the Administration of Church-power: And it were in vain to give power to such a subject, which never is called to bring it forth into act.

In his Arguments, M. *Rutterford* doth chiefly aime at this conclusion; To prove that the Keyes are not given to a Church of professed Believers, destitute of Pastors and Teachers, &c. A conclusion which he is pleased to frame unto himself, but had not occasion to collect it from any words in my Proposition; which onely affirmeth, that the Keyes were given to such a particular Visible Church, whereof *Peter* was one, and to whom *Peter* in case of offence might complain, even to the Congregation. I might therefore omit this Question wholy, but that he so handleth it, as if there were no Church-power at all, but onely that which he calleth official, and Authoritative power: and so he maketh all the Acts of the Brethren of the Church (who are no officers) as no Acts of power at all, and consequently, no part left to the People in the power of the Keyes: which puteth upon me a necessity of clearing some expressions in his Arguments.

1. His first Argument (pag. 9.) is, "*The Church to which the* "*Keyes were given, is builded upon a Rock, is the House of Wis-* "*dom, the house of God.*

"*But such is not a company of Professing Believers, united by* "*Church-Covenant, and destitute of Pastors and Teachers. &c.*

Answ. This latter Proposition is justly denied.

For M. *Rutterford* himself acknowledgeth a Church in an Island, where the Pastors are taken away by death, or otherwise, pag. 8. And if such be a Church, then truly it is built upon a Rock, the Rock of Divine Institution, and the Rock of Christ believed on, and professed. Such a Church is also an House of Wisdom, and an House of God: or else the Wisdom, and presence, and grace of God given to the Church (yea to two or three of the Church) dieth and perisheth with their Church-Officers.

Object. " *The Church of Believers gathered without Pastors* " *and Teachers, though united in a Church-Covenant, yet not* " *being builded by Pastors and Teachers (who are given to gather* " *and to edifie the Body) they are onely the materialls of the House,* " *But not the House.*

Answ. 1. The Church is truly said to be builded by Pastors and Teachers, upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, when by their Doctrine they were first brought on to believe, and by the same Doctrine taught to assemble into Church-Fellowship. It is true, the faith which they received by the edifying Ministery of Pastors and Teachers, doth not make them Members of the Visible Church, but of the Invisible; and so fit materialls onely of the Visible Church. But yet they being also taught to make profession of their faith before the Lord, and his people, in covenanting or professing subjection to the Lord, and one to another in the use of his Ordinances (so far as they are or shall be committed to them) they thereby receive the form of a Visible Church upon them. For as faith is the essential form of the Catholick Invisible Church: So is the profession of faith, and the obedience of faith to Christ in his Ordinances amongst themselves, the essential forme of a Particular Visible Church, amongst themselves I say. For profession of faith, and of the obedience of faith at large, without respect of subjection to Ordinances in this or that Church, maketh a man no more a member of the Church at York, then of the Church at Edinburgh. But when such a Society of Believers is combined together by profession of faith, and obedience of faith to the Ordinances administred, or administrable amongst themselves; they are now not onely the materialls of a Visible Church, but have the true forme of Church-Estate, notwithstanding their want of Pastors and Teachers. Otherwise Pastors themselves should be the form of the Church, by which it is, and without which it cannot be a Church. As if the Body of a man could not be an Human body, without eyes or armes: Or had onely the matter of a Man, (or some part of the matter) but not the form.

What though such a society of Believers be not a ministerial Church, without Pastors and Teachers? yet it is not Pastors and Teachers, that giveth them the form of a Church, no not of a Ministerial or Organical Church, much less of an Homogeneal. For Ministers (Pastors, or Teachers) themselves are onely materiall

terialls (parts, and members) of a miniſterial Church, not the forme of it. The forme of ſuch a Church, is the mutual profeſſion (or ſtipulation) or (that which amounteth thereto) the Agreement and conſent between miniſters and people to adminiſter and ſubmit unto, the holy ordinances of Chriſt amongſt themſelves, according to the rule of the Goſpel. Say not, a "*Church of Believers without Miniſters, wanteth the power of* "*edifying the body of Chriſt, which is required in a Viſible Church,* Eph. 4. 11.

For every member of the Church hath an edifying power, received from the head Chriſt Jeſus, to the effectual working of the increaſe of the body, unto the edifying of it ſelf in love. *Epheſ.* 4. 16.

And though neither all, nor moſt of the Brethren of a Church have ordinarily received a gift of publike Prophecying, or Preaching: yet in defect of publike miniſters, it is not an unheard of novelty; That God ſhould enlarge private men with publike gifts, and that they that have received ſuch gifts, ſhould take liberty to diſpenſe them unto edification. For we read that when the Church at Jeruſalem were all of them ſcattered abroad, except the Apoſtles; yet they that were ſcattered went every where preaching the Word. *Acts* 8. 5. & 11. 19, 20, 21.

Neither let it be ſaid, "*That ſuch a Church (or Society) of Be-* "*lievers is not Wiſdoms houſe, becauſe it is not builded by Paſtors* "*and Teachers, who are given to edifie, and gather the Body.* For though in a material houſe of wood or ſtone, the builders do not onely prepare the materialls, but do alſo introduce the form: yet in a ſpiritual houſe (ſuch as a Church of Believers is) the form is induced not by any formal Act of the Miniſtry of Paſtors and Teachers (though they may be inſtrumental, in giving a word of Direction:) but by the voluntary ſtipulation or profeſſion of ſubjection of this ſociety of Believers to the Lord Jeſus in the uſe of his ordinances. The Church as it is the houſe of God; ſo it is alſo the Spouſe of Chriſt: Miniſters are the friends of the Bridegroom, and of the Bride. The miniſters have done their work in preparing the Bride for the Bridegroom; as alſo in miniſtring to her when ſhe is marryed. But in Betrothing her to Chriſt, the Bride in that work, muſt her ſelf profeſs her own acceptance of the Lord Jeſus, and ſubjection to him: which ſhe may do effectually, whether miniſters be preſent and Aſſiſtant or no. It is true, mi-

sters are ordinarily present and directive in this Work, and in that respect are somtimes said to espouse them to Christ; 2 *Cor.* 11. 2. but the formal bond of their Spousage lieth not in the presence or assistance of ministers, but in their own professed yeilding up of themselves unto the Lord in his Covenant. As in the consummation of marriage between man and wife; the bond of the Espousage lieth not in the presence, or assistance of ministers or magistrates, but in the Husbands open profession of his acceptance of her, and in her open profession of her acceptance of him, and subjection to him in the duties of marriage.

His second Argument is taken from the Stewardship of them to whom the Keyes are committed.

"*To them (saith he) are the Keys promised, who are the* "*Stewards of the mysteries of God.* 1 Cor. 4. 1. *and servants of* "*the house by Office,* 2 Cor. 4. 5. *and by office to open the dores, and* "*behave themselves aright in Gods house,* 1 Tim. 3. 16. *and to di-* "*vide to those of the house their portion of meat in due season, Mat.* "24. 45. *and to cut out the Word.* 2 Tim, 2. 15.

"*But a Company of Professing Believers, joyned together in* "*Church Covenant, and destitute of Officers, are not stewards by* "*office, nor servants over the house. &c.*

The Assumption Mr *Rutterford* taketh for granted, and so he well may; unless office be taken in a large sense (as it is in *Tully*'s *Offices*) for a duty, which we owe to every one in his place respectively; and as he saith (*ad Terent.*) *In Familia bene instituta, dicimus omnes in officio esse opportere.* In which sense also the Translators take it in *Rom.* 12. 5. where they speak of all the members of the Body (whether Natural Body or Ecclesiastical) as having all of them received an office, though not all of them the same office, *Rom.* 12. 4. And in the same sense, the Apostle *Peter* exhorteth all the Saints of God to administer the good gifts they have received, as good Stewards of the manifold grace of Christ. 1 *Pet.* 4. 10, 11. In this sense every member of the Church may be said to have an office, and a stewardly office in the Church.

But take office properly, for a calling invested with Power to perform special Acts of publike service to the Church; so indeed it implyeth a contradiction, That the Church should be its owne officer. For the very terme of officer implyeth subordination: and Mr *Rutterford* speaketh properly; That they are servants of the House by Office, whom he putteth for the Officers of the House

House. Now the Church cannot be her owne servant.

But yet this giveth the more just ground of denying the *Major* Proposition. That to them only are the Keyes promised, who are the stewards and servants of the House by Office. The *Mater familias* in the House, hath Keyes of power over her children, and servants, and yet is neither steward nor servant of the House.

It is true, the Keyes are a symbole of power. And power is either Supreme, and Soveraigne; or Subordinate, and Subservient. Soveraign power in the Church belongeth to the Lord Jesus, who is therefore said to have the Key of *David*, to open and none to shut; to shut, and none to open. *Rev.* 3: 7.

And yet in proper speech, Christ is no Church Officer, no officer in the Church, (unless it be to God the Father) no more then the King can be said to be an Officer in the Common-wealth. Officers are of an inferiour rank, *Deut.* 16. 18. But subordinate power is two-fold: 1. οἰκονομικὴ *Officiaria Potestas*, stewardly Ministerial Office-Power. And secondly, *Honoraria Potestas*, an honourable Power: such as a King going into a far Countrey may leave to his Queen; whom though He leave her subject to the Laws and Officers of his Court and Kingdom; yet he betrusteth her with this power, that *in* defect of officers, she shall have power to chuse new, according to the Law: and together with the officers, joynt power, either to admit servants into her family, or upon just cause to remove any of them out of her Family. And that Christ (the King, and Husband of his Church) being gone himself in bodily presence into a far Country, hath left this honourable power to his Church, as to chuse their own officers, to joyn in admission of Members, and censure of Offendors; I presume Mr *Rutterford* will not gainsay. To give a touch of each; Plain it is, that when Deacons were to be chosen into office, the Apostles referred the choise of them to the multitude of Brethren, and they performed it. *Acts* 6. 1, 2, 3, 5. When *Saul* essayed to joyn himself to the Church at Jerusalem, he was not received till the Brethrens fear of his carnal estate was removed, and themselves satisfied, that he was a Disciple; *Acts* 9. 26. Let no man except, *Paul* did not essay to joyn himself as a a member to the Church at Jerusalem: for he was (as being an Apostle) an Officer, (and therefore a member) in all Churches: For his call to the Apostleship was at first unknown to them; and the

the Argument holdeth so much the stronger, that if the Brethren must be satisfied in the Discipleship of an Apostle, before he can be admitted to joyn with them; much more may they require probable ground of the Discipleship of a Brother, before he be admitted to joyn with them in Church-Communion. And when the Incestuous Corinthian was to be cast out of the Family of the Church; *Paul* referreth the Administration of that power to the joynt proceeding of the Elders and Brethren of that Church, leaving to either sort their concourse of several power respectively.

Now then to apply this distinction of power to the Argument. All the places alledged by Mr *Rutterford*, do indeed prove "*That the Keyes were promised and given to the Stewards and Officers, and Servants in the House of God*: which we willingly acknowledge. We acknowledge also that which he affirmeth, "*That a company of professing Believers joyned together in Church* "*Covenant, and destitute of Officers, are not stewards by Office,* "*nor servants in the House of God.* But this we deny, that all the Keyes, all kind of Power in the Church, is promised and given to the officers of the Church, solely and solidly. All Office-power indeed, is given to the Officers: Nor do we permit the Church of Brethren to usurp any part of office-power unto themselves. But we see the Scripture acknowledgeth other Power in the Church, besides office-power.

I shall not need to enlarge further answer to this second Argument. The Testimonies which he alledgeth to prove his Proposition; they prove, that the Keyes signifie Power, and Authority, and thar Stewardly, or Office-Power, is given to the Officers of the Church. But none of them prove, that all power is Office-Power, or that the Keyes hold forth no other power but office-power: or that the Church of Believers hath received no power at all. The Text in *Isa.* 22. 22. speaketh not of a spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, but of a Civil Power. The Text in *Isa.* 9. 6. and *Rev.* 3. 7. speaks not of a Ministerial, or Office-Power, but of a Soveraign Power in Christ Jesus.

What *Schindler* speaketh of מפתח as it crosseth not us: so it concerneth not the Keyes spoken of in *Mat.* 16. where the word in the Syriack is not מפתח, but קלורה a word (as it seemeth) taken up from the Greek.

What those many other Authors say of the Keyes in the places alledged by him, do not at all weaken our defence: which maketh me

me (I confeſs) the more to wonder, that he ſhould conclude that Troup of witneſſes with this Period: " *That he thinks while of* " *late, never any Interpreter dreamed, that in this Text,* Matt. 16. " *That the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven are given to all Be-* " *lievers, but onely to the ſtewards of the Houſe.*

M. *Rutterford* knoweth well, that *Bucer* expounding *Mat.* 16. ſaith expreſly *De Poteſtate clavium,* " *Hæc Poteſtas penes Ec-* " *cleſiam omnem eſt; Authoritas modo Miniſterii penes Presby-* *teros & Epiſcopos, ut Romæ olim Poteſtas populi fuit, Authoritas Senatus, Ferus:* (not later then *Bucer*) upon *Mat.* 16. affirmeth; " *Claves datas Eccleſiæ, ut Dominæ, & Sponſæ: Petro, ut Mini-* *ſtro.* Reverend *Baines,* though in the firſt ſubject of the power of the Keyes he do ſomewhat diſſent from us: yet he confeſſeth in that third concluſion of his, upon Queſtion 3. page 83. of his *Dioceſans Trial:* " *That he ſetteth down that Concluſion againſt* " *the Divines of Conſcience againſt our prime Divines, as* Luther " *and* Melancton, *and againſt the Sorboniſts.* But though all theſe might be ſaid to be of late, ſurely *Auguſtine* is not of late, whom I think beſt to quote, as his Teſtimonies are at large alledged by Doctor *Whitakers* againſt *Bellarmine;* the rather, that ſo we may take in the judicious Doctors Notes upon them, *Auguſtine, tra-* *ctat.* 50. *in Johannem,* " *Si in Petro, inquit, non eſſet, Eccleſiæ* " *Sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves Regni* " *Cœlorum. Si hoc Petro tantum dictum eſt, non facit hoc Ec-* " *cleſia: Si autem hoc in Eccleſia fit; Petrus quando claves ac-* " *cepit, Eccleſiam ſanctam ſignificavit.*

Again, *De Agon. Chriſt. c.* 30. He ſaith, " *Petrum inter om-* " *nes Apoſtolas, Eccleſiæ Perſonam ſuſtinuiſſe: & claves datas* " *eſſe Eccleſiæ, cum Petro datæ ſunt.*

On which, and ſome ſuch like paſſages in *Auguſtine,* Doctor *Whitaker* giveth this Expoſition: This is not ſaith he, " *That* " *the Church ſhould receive the Keyes* ſuo quodam modo, *after* " *a certain ſort, but that in* Peter *they did receive them pro-* " *perly, truely, and more principally, then* Peter *himſelf.*

Let no man except, that by the Church he underſtood not the Brethren of the Church, but onely the Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſours the Presbyters.

For though it be true, that Office-power was given to them only, yet it is clear; he acknowledgeth (as others do) a power likewiſe of the people in the government of the Church. In ſtate-

ing

ing Church-Government, He giveth it thus for a Concluſion. " *Si velimus Chriſtum ipſum reſpicere, fuit ſemper Eccleſiæ* " *Regimen Monarchicum: ſi Eccleſiæ Presbyteros, qui in Do-* " *ctrina & Diſciplina ſuas partes agebant, Ariſtocraticum: ſi* " *totum Corpus Eccleſiæ, quatenus in Electione Epiſcoporum* " *& Presbyterorum, Suffragia ferebat, Democraticum. Sic* " *partim Ariſtocraticum, partim Democraticum, partim etiam* " *Monarchicum, eſt, ſemperque fuit Eccleſiæ Regimen. Whitaker.* " *Controv. 4. Q. 1. c. 1. Num. 2.*

Nor let any put off *Whitakers* or *Auguſtine*, with this evaſion, " that *Peter* is ſaid to have received the Keyes in the Perſon of " the Church, not becauſe the Church is any ſubject of that power, " but becauſe it is the end of that power: all the power of the " Keyes being given to *Peter*, not for himſelf, but for the good, " and utility of the Church.

Such an evaſion *Chamier* rejecteth with indignation, " *Hoc-* " *cine vero (inquit) eſt candide agere? hoccine Auguſtinum* " *interpretari? Atqui Auguſtinus non quærit, quem in finem* " *datæ ſint claves, ſed quærit cui. Hæ vero Quæſtiones quanto* " *ſeparentur intervallo, quis non videt? Sed & exemplo facile* " *docetur. Vnicuique datur declaratio Spiritus ad utilitatem, in-* " *quit Paulus, 1 Cor. 12. id eſt, in Bonum Eccleſiæ, ut totus ſermo* " *oſtendit. An dicat aliquis, eum cui datur Declaratio Spiritus,* " *Figuram geſtare Eccleſiæ, quum eam accipit? minime vero:* " *eſt enim non publicum ſed privatum donum: publicum quidem* " *ipſa utilitate, ſed privatum donatione, poſſeſſioneque. Cum* " *igitur quærit Auguſtinus, cui ſint datæ claves, Petro ſoli, an* " *toti Eccleſiæ, importune inculcatur, datas eſſe in Bonum Eccle-* " *ſiæ quia nihil obſtaret, quo minus & datæ eſſent in incommune* " *Bonum Eccleſiæ, & tamen ſoli Petro. At Auguſtinus hæc op-* " *ponit, datæ ſunt ſoli Petro, & datæ ſunt Eccleſiæ, ut ſi ſoli Pe-* " *tro, non Eccleſiæ: & ſi Eccleſiæ, non ſoli Petro. Si Petro in-* " *quit hoc tantum dictum eſt, non facit hoc Eccleſia.*

I forbear (for brevitie ſake) to recite what he further diſputeth againſt *Horantius* to the ſame purpoſe in the words following, *De Oecumen. Pontifice. l. 11. cap. 10.*

3 I come to conſider of M. *Rutterfords* third Argument, which he propoundeth thus:

" To thoſe (in *Matth.* 16.) *Doth Chriſt give the Keyes, to* " *whom he giveth warrant for the actual exerciſe of the Keyes?*

But

" *But this warrant is official Authority of binding and loosing,*
" *Christ giveth to Peter onely, as representing Apostles, Teachers,*
" *and Elders: and not to a Church of Believers converted co-*
" *venant-wise, and destitute of Officers, Ergo, &c.*

Answ. The proposition is not alwayes universally safe, if it be understood of the Actuall exercise of the Keyes, (by them who receive them) in their own person. For Christ himself, who received from the Father the power of all Church Administrations: yet in the Dayes of his flesh, He in his own person baptized no man: *John* 4.2. And after his Ascension, though the Soveraign power of the Keyes do still remain with him, yet he performeth all the Externall exercise of Church-power by his Ministers.

If it be said, that though Christ did not exercise all Church-power in his own person, yet he had warrant so to do: It may justly be replied, Christ best understood his own warrant, and he that did not exercise this or that Act of the Church-power in his own person, surely he did not think it expedient to exercise it in his own Person. And *quicquid non expedit, quatenus non expedit, non licet*: That which is not expedient, so far forth as it is not expedient, is not warrantable.

Besides it is a disputable case amongst Civil, and Canon-Lawyers, and by *Covarruvias* judged for the Affirmative, that in some Cases, the Wife after her Husbands death hath a just Interest in some such Offices as she cannot warrantably exercise in his own Person.

And he instanceth in *Officio Decurionatus. Covarr. Tom.*2. *lib.* 3.*cap.*19. *Num.*4.

Queen *Elizabeth* whilest she lived, had lawfull power to punish her enemies by slaughter in War; Her criminall Subjects by hanging: other offendors by scourging: but it were an hard saying to affirm, that she had Warrant to exercise all these Acts of Power in her own Person.

Answ. 2. I willingly grant that *Peter* (in *Matth.* 16.)
" *Received the Promise of all Office-power, as representing the*
" *Officers of the Church, Apostles, Teachers, and Elders: and*
" *with that Power, a Warrant of Officiall Exercise of that Power.*

But this I say withall, That *Peter* in receiving the Keyes (or the Promise of them) He received from Christ both sorts of subordinate Church-Power, not only *Officiariam*, but *Honorariam Potestatem*. And in receiving this latter, He represented the Per-

ſon of all profeſſing Believers. For it were not reaſonable to think, that *Peter* receiving the Keyes as a reward of the Profeſſion of his Faith, ſhould receive no power at all to profeſſing Believers as ſuch, but all Power only to profeſſing Officers.

Ob. "*But if profeſſing Believers, as ſuch, had received any* "*part of the Power of the Keyes, they had then received the Power* "*of binding and looſing, which they have not: For binding and* "*looſing are the Acts of the Official-Power of the Keyes*: Ergo, "*The Church of Believers being deſtitute of Officers, and Gover-* "*nours hath not received any part of the Power of the Keyes.*

Anſw. The proof of the aſſumption of this Argument will not hold, unleſſe binding and looſing were the *Adequate* Acts of the Official-Power of the Keyes. But though binding and looſing, or (which is all one) opening and ſhutting, be indeed the *Adequate* Acts of the Power of the Keyes; yet not ſo of their official-Power. The Lord Jeſus hath the Key of *David*, He bindeth and none looſeth, He looſeth and none bindeth: (*Rev.* 3.7.) and yet this his binding and looſing are not the Acts of the Official, but of the Soveraign power of the Keyes. The Brethren of the Church at Jeruſalem, who were ſcattered upon the perſecution that aroſe about *Stephen*: they preached the Word of Chriſt to Jews and Grecians about Antioch, and by the good hand of the Lord upon them, a great number believed, and turned to the Lord; *Acts* 11.19,20,21. Theſe Brethren in opening the Door of Faith to their Hearers, though they wanted Office, yet they wanted not the Power of the Keyes, to open the Kingdome of Heaven unto them.

The Brethren of the Church of Corinth concurred with their Officers, in delivering the inceſtuous perſon to Satan, and afterwards in the publike pardon of him, and releaſe of his cenſure. In both which they put forth the Spirituall Power of the Lord Jeſus, which is, *the Power of the Keyes*, 1 *Cor.* 5.4,5. with 2 *Cor.* 2.7. to 11. And yet they neither had the official-power of the Keyes, nor did they exerciſe it. It was alſo an Act of Church Power, which the Church of Brethren at Jeruſalem did put forth in joyning in the Definitive ſentence of the Synod, and in ſending forth Letters and Meſſengers to the Churches of Antioch. Syria, and Cilicia, for the publiſhing and promulgating of the Sentence. And yet the Brethren themſelves neither had office-power in themſelves, nor did they exerciſe it.

Ob.

Ob. " *But these Brethren in Corinth, and Jerusalem, though* " *they had not office-power in themselves, yet they had it amongst* " *themselves in the Apostles, and in the Elders then Assembled:* " *And so with them they might joyn in some Act of Church-power,* " *which without them, they might not have been put forth at all:* " *or if they had, It had been of no power.*

Answ. This were indeed to make the Church-Power in Brethren a mere Cipher, yea lesse then a Cipher. For a Cipher though it be of no number or account, unlesse some Figure of the Decad be joyned before it; yet if it be joyned before it, the Cipher will increase the number and account, and make it at least tenfold more then it was before. But all the Brethren of the Church without officers, are not onely made as so many Ciphers, as those who of themselves can do no Act of number or account at all: But also though an Officer, or a whole Presbyterie joyn with them, and go before them, yet the Act of the whole Church of Brethren, maketh the Act of no more account, no more value or validity, then it was before; which seemeth to me an unworthy thing and unreasonable. For seeing that the profession of the Faith in Christ was the original ground, (or at least the occasion) of the grant of all Church-Power unto *Peter* in the name of the Church, how can it stand either with Faith or Reason, That a Church of Believers professing the same Faith with *Peter*, shall receive no part of Church-Power at all, in respect of their profession of the Faith, but only in respect of their Officers that preach the Faith? whereas *Peter* then spake not as a Preacher only, but as a Professor of the Faith. Faith when it seeth a Promise made to another in respect of this or that Qualification or Duty, It is apt (by the help of the Spirit of Grace) to apply the same blessing, or some part of it at least, unto it self in the same case.

Again, if it were so, that a Church of Believers destitute of officers, should have received from Christ no part of the power of the Keyes, then in case the whole Presbytery of a Church should be removed by Death, or Crime, or otherwise, the Church should cease to be a Church. For the Power of the Keyes comprehendeth the Latitude of all Church-power. And *ut seres habet in esse, sic in operari.* Take away all power of Action, and operation from a Church, and you take away the Church it self. And so you will make Ministers to be not only the Integral parts of a Church, but the Essential parts also. Yea by this means, The estate of the

Church is in worſe condition, then is the eſtate of any civil Common-wealth. For take away all the Magiſtrates, and Governors of the Common-wealth, yet ſtill the Common-wealth ſubſiſteth in it ſelf; It ceaſeth not to be a Common-wealth, nor is it left deſtitute of all Actions of a Common-wealth. The Body of the People may ſolemnly aſſemble together, and chuſe out of themſelves new Magiſtrates: or if they want good choice among themſelves, they may ſupply themſelvs from their confederates. But the Church of Chriſt (which of all Societies is the moſt Honourable, and moſt completely ſupplied with Power to attain its own end, and is built upon the moſt ſure Foundation) If it be once deprived of her Officers and Rulers, it ſtraightway becometh Null, both in Eſſence and Action. Time was, when *David* ſpeaking to the Church ſaid, *Glorious things are ſpoken of thee, thou City of God*, Pſal. 87. 3. And one of thoſe glorious things were, *That her Foundations are in the Holy Mountains*, v. 1. And *the Lord loveth the Gates of Zion, more then all the dwellings of* Jacob, v. 2. But ſurely, if the Churches Being, did ſo eaſily vaniſh with the loſſe of their Officers, This would turn their glory into ſhame, above all other ſocieties.

4. Procced we now to the fourth and laſt Argument, whereby M. *Rutterford* goeth about to prove, that the Church of Believers deſtitute of an Elderſhip, hath no power of the Keyes.

If the power of the Keyes lay in competition between a Church of Believers deſtitute of its own Elderſhip, and a Church of Believers furniſhed with it (as the queſtion might ſeem to import) I ſhould eaſily grant more ample power to a Church with its Elderſhip, then to a Church without it; or if the competition of the power of the Keyes lay, whether in the Church without the Elderſhip, or in the Elderſhip without the Church, (eſpecially when the greater part of the Elderſhip conſiſteth of the Elders of other Churches) though we give not much power to a Church without an Elderſhip: yet we ſhould give leſſe to an Elderſhip without the Church.

But the true ſtate of the queſtion is, whether a Congregational Church of Believers furniſhed with Officers, and walking in the Truth and Peace of the Goſpel, have not received the power of Keyes (the power of binding and looſing) within themſelves? or, whether this power be firſt given to a Claſſical, or Provincial, or National Aſſembly of the Church Officers, or Presbyters: and from them be derived to a Congregational Church of Believers with their Officers?

But

But it may be also a second question touching a Congregational Church of Believers, whether no power of the Keyes (that is, no part of the power of the Keyes) be given to them without an Eldership.

This hath M. *Rutterford* put for the question, and maketh it the Title of every leaf of Chap. 1. Sect. 2. "*The Church of Believers* "*destitute of an Eldership have* No Power *of the Keyes.*

Three of his Arguments in this question we have already perused: come we now to his fourth.

His fourth Argument then is this: If Christ do not say in this "place (*Mat.* 16.) nor in *Mat.* 18. *That the Keyes and the Acts* "*of the Keyes (to wit, binding and loosing) are given to a Church* "*of Believers without their Officers, then neither of the places* "*prove, that the Keyes are given to such a Church.*

"*But Christ doth not say it:* Ergo, *The Text cannot bear it.*

Answ. 1. If this Text in *Matth.* 16. Do prove that the Keyes are given to a Church of Believers with their Officers, It is as much as I infer from it.

Answ. 2. Yet two things there be in the words of the Text, which do infer, that some part of the Power of the Keyes is given to a Church of Believers without their officers.

The first may be collected thus; If the Keyes be the power of edifying the Church, and the Church be edified of Believers by the Publike profession of their Faith, Then Believers publikely professing the Faith, have some part of the power of the Keyes given to them.

But the Keyes are the power of edifying the Church, and the Church is edified of Believers, by the Publike Profession of their Faith.

Therefore Believers Publikely professing the Faith, have some part of the power of the Keyes given to them.

What may here justly be denied, I see not. The *major* Proposition is evident of it self. For no man can do any Act of spiritual efficacy, but he hath received from Christ some spiritual Power to do it.

And *habenti dabitur*, to him that edifieth the Church by any power received, to him shall the more abundant power be given to do the same.

The *minor* Proposition is as clear: For the Keyes are nothing else, but the Instruments of edifying the Church. Though their immediate

mediate and proper work be to open and shut (and Metaphorically, to bind and loose:) yet both these are nothing else but Acts of edifying the Church. And that the Church is edified or builded of Believers, Publikely professing their Faith: the Lord himself doth acknowledge in the words of the Text: when he saith, *Upon this Rock*, (that is, upon this Publike Profession of Faith in me) *I will build my Church. Peter* by this publike profession of his Faith, did edifie himself, and his fellow-Disciples: and thereby obtained both a reward of his Profession, to become the foundation of the Church: and a reward to himself, of receiving the Keyes; that is, a power both by gift, and office to edifie the Church in a more setled manner, and abundant measure, not onely as a Believer, but as a chief Elder, and Apostle.

The second thing in the Text, that may infer some part of the power of the Keyes to be given to a Church of Believers even without officers, may thus be taken up.

If *Peter* had the Keyes given him as a reward, not for doing an Act or Duty of his office, but for doing an Act or Duty common to him with other Believers; then Believers making the same publike confession of Faith with him: As they do partake with him in the Duty, so do they partake also (in some measure) in the reward.

But *Peter* had the Keyes given him as a reward, not for doing any Act or Duty of his Office, but for doing an Act or Duty common to him with other ordinary Believers.

Therefore other ordinary Believers making the same publike confession of Faith with him, they do partake with him in the Duty; so do they also partake in some measure in the promised reward of the power of the Keyes.

The former Proposition is not onely the collection of many Divines both ancient and modern, but it dependeth upon a principal ground of the work of our ministry. For our Ministry taketh it for a sure ground of the Application of Scriptures; That what promise we find given to any upon occasion of this or that qualification or condition, the same is intended by God, and easily applyed by us to all others, in whom the like condition or qualification is found according to their measure.

The latter Proposition is so clear, as needs no proof, unlesse we shall make the publike confession of Faith in Christ, not to be the duty of ordinary Believers, and Church-members, but onely of Church-

Church-officers: or unleſſe we could find ſome other occaſion, upon which Chriſt made this Gracious promiſe of the Keyes to *Peter*, beſide the publike confeſſion of his Faith in Chriſt before the Lord, and his Brethren.

" Ob. 1. *When Chriſt gave the Promiſe of the Keyes, he ſpeak-*
" *eth not to the Church, but turneth his ſpeech to* Peter, *v.* 19.
" *ſaying, I will give to thee* (Peter, *not to the Church*) *the Keyes*
" *of the kingdome of Heaven. Surely none needeth to teach our*
" *Lord to ſpeak: This change of the Perſons to whom the Keyes*
" *are promiſed, wanteth not a reaſon*, &c.

Anſw. As we need not, ſo we do not go about, to teach the Lord to ſpeak. Here is no changing of Perſons, nor turning of ſpeech, in giving the promiſe of the Keyes. Chriſt began his ſpeech to *Peter*, and he continueth his ſpeech to *Peter*, from *v.* 17. to 19. All upon occaſion of *Peters* confeſſion. In *v.* 17. Chriſt giveth to *Peter* a promiſe of bleſſedneſſe from the cauſe of his confeſſion. In *v.* 18 He giveth a promiſe of reward to his confeſſion; That upon it, as upon a rocky foundation, He will build his Church in impregnable ſtability. In *v.* 19. He giveth a promiſe of reward unto himſelf upon occaſion of his gracious publike confeſſion, even a promiſe of the Keyes of the Church. And the promiſe is more fitly given to *Peter* in the Name of the Church, then to the Church by Name; becauſe it was not the Church by Name that made that confeſſion, but *Peter* in the Name of the Church.

Ob. 2. " *If the Promiſe were given to* Peter *in the Name of*
" *Believers, how will that ſtand with the judgement of the way,*
" *who will not allow every company of Believers, becauſe they are*
" *Believers to be an Inſtituted viſible Church; (to whom the Keyes*
" *are given) but they muſt be a company of Believers profeſſing*
" *Covenant-wiſe, Faith in Chriſt and Church-Communion. But*
" *then the Keyes are not given to Believers becauſe they are Be-*
" *lievers, and the Spouſe of Chriſt, but becauſe they are ſuch Pro-*
" *feſſors, and ſo combined in Church-Covenant.*

Anſw. The Authour of the *Way* doth no where ſay, That the Keyes are given to a company of Believers, only becauſe they are Believers; but becauſe they are Believers making publike confeſſion of their faith before the Lord, and their Brethren. For *Peter* himſelf received not the Keyes meerly as a Believer, but as a Believer publikely profeſſing his Faith before Chriſt, and his fellow Diſciples in Chriſts School. If other Writers ſpeak otherwiſe, (that the

the Keyes were given to *Peter* a Believer in the name of Believers) they must be understood to speak of Believers, not as keeping their Faith to themselves, but as making profession of their Faith publikly; so as they come to be received into the society of the visible Church. Faith giveth a man fellowship in the Invisible Church, and in all the inward spirituall blessings of the Church. But it is profession of Faith, that giveth a man fellowship in the visible Church. It is not a society of Believers, as such, that maketh them a Church: for a society of Christian Merchants may meet together in a ship to transport themselves to Hamburrough, or Lubeck but they are not thereby a Church, nor have received *Church*-power. But if they do publikely professe their Faith, and their obedience of Faith to the Lord Jesus in the publike ordinances of his worship, which he hath committed to his Church, and they are capable of; then indeed they are a professed visible Church of Christ, and a Body united to him, and one to another by such profession, and do also partake in the power of the Keyes according to their measure.

Ob. 3. "*I aske, whether true or false profession be the neereſt* "*intervening cause of these, to whom the Keyes are given?*

Answ. True or false profession may be attended, either in respect of the Doctrine of Faith in Christ professed, or in respect of the Grace of Faith professing it. If the profession of the Doctrine of Faith be true, though the Grace of Faith in the Professor of it be uncertain, and it may be hypocritical (and so false:) yet we dare not deny the nature and power of a Church to such. As the Church judgeth not of hidden crimes, so neither do the Faithfull judge of the *Churches* by their hidden hypocrisie, but by their open scandals in Doctrine, or life. God would have his people live without anxious perplexity, (as in point of marriage, 1 *Cor.* 7.32. so) in every society. It were an inextricable perplexity, to suspend the Essence or validity of Churches or Church Administrations, upon the hidden sincerity of Churches, and of Church-Officers, or Members. It is true, that Church-estate and Church-priviledges, and *Church*-power are given to Believers, making publike profession of their holy Faith: to them are the Keyes given, and for them. And yet for their sakes God doth vouchsafe both the Name, and Stile, and Power of a Church to such as make the like profession of the Faith with them, though not with the like sincerity. The Church of Sardis had a name to live, yet was dead, *Rev.* 3. 2. Nevertheleſſe, the Lord reckoneth it amongst the golden Candlesticks, and walketh amongst

amongst them, *Rev.* 2.1. It appeareth there were a few Names amongst them, that were sincere: *Rev.* 3.4. And Dr *Ames* maketh it most probable, "*That there is no Particular Church, wherein* "*the profession of the true faith doth take place, but that in the same* "*are found some true Believers. Medull. Theolog. l.* 1. *c.* 32. *num.* 10.

Object. 1. *If a false Profession be sufficient to make Persons a* "*true Visible Church; then* 1. *The Keyes are not given to Believe-* "*vers, because they are Believers, and united to Christ as his Body* "*and Spouse.*

Answ. The Keyes are given to Believers, because they are Believers, making publike confession of their faith. To hypocrites they are given, not for their hypocrisie, but for the truth of that faith which they do profes in common with sincere Believers: and for the sake of those true Believers who do communicate with them, and for whose sake the whole Body is united to Christ, and his Spouse, though adulterous in heart.

Object. 2. "*Then the Author of the* Way *saith amiss, That the* "*Church instituted by Christ, is a company of Believers, faithful* "*and godly men; for a company of hypocrites are not such.*

Answ. The Author of the *Way* speaketh of the Church as it ought to be, and as it is in outward visible profession. Hypocrites in outward profession and appearance, go for faithful and godly, and such in truth they ought to be, as well as in appearance.

Object. 3. "*Our Brethren prove the Keys to be a part of the li-* "*berty of redeemed Ones; but counterfet Professors are not redeem-* "*ed Ones: nor have they that liberty purchased to them in Christ.*

Answ. It is true, the Keys are a part of the liberty of redeemed ones. For the Keys hold forth an Ecclesiastical power, and all power in heaven and earth was given to Christ upon his resurrection from the dead, *Mat.* 28.18. And though counterfet professors be not the redeemed ones of Christ (properly so called:) yet for the sake of the redeemed ones, counterfet Professors have that liberty purchased to them by Christ, as to partake in the power of the Keys. Otherwise what can be said of hypocritical elders, of whom M. *Rutterford* doubteth not, they have received the power of the Keys: and yet though their persons be not the redeemed ones of Christ, yet they have this liberty, or service rather purchased to them by Christ, as to be serviceable to the Church in the administration of the power of the Keys. The spiritual gifts (though common) whereby Apostates are said to be sanctified, were purchased to them by the bloud of Christ, *Heb.* 10.29. And yet the power whereby hypocrites or A-

postates lord it over the redeemed ones of God, is but a service. *Rom.*9.12.

Object. 4. "*It shall follow, that our Brethren widely mistake a "supposed difference, which they devise betwixt the Jewish and "Christian Church; to wit, that to make men members of the Jewish "Church, external holines was sufficient, as to be born Jews, to be "circumcised, &c. but that the Visible Church of the Gentiles af-"ter Christ, must be the Bride of Christ, and by true faith united "to him. Whereas the members of a Visible Christian Church, are "and may be hypocrites, though not known to be such, as were the "members of the Jewish Church.*

Answ. Who it is that M. *Rutterford* meaneth, to have put this difference between the members of the Jewish and Christian Church, I do not know: but thus far I own it, 1. That the Church of the Jews was National in their solemn assemblies, as well as Congregational in their Synagogues: and that accordingly they had National Congregations in Jerusalem; national sacrifices, and National high Priests, besides national government: but the visible instituted Churches of Christ in the new Testament, are Congregational: 1 *Cor.*14.23. 2. That we do not read of the children of Israel, who were circumcised in their infancy, to have been afterwards debarred from the Passeover upon point of moral prophanesse: they having many sacrifices to expiate אשמות ceremonially, which Christian Churches have not, but onely pœnitential acknowledgment after censure. In which respect, I suppose (under correction) there was more toleration of sundry moral crimes in the Church-fellowship of the Jews, then ought to be born in Christian Churches. But otherwise I easily acknowledge, that in Christian Churches, as well as in Jewish, many hypocrites creep in, and are long tolerated therein (it may be all their daies) and yet without impeachment of the truth and essence of the estate of Churches whereof they are members, and without infringement of the power of their Church administrations (when dispensed otherwise according to rule) notwithstanding the hypocrisie of sundry members, yea, and of officers also.

To this place it belongeth (I mean to the cleering of this Text, *Mat.*16.) to consider of the reasons whereby M. *Rutterford* goeth about to prove, "*That Christ spake to* Peter, *as to one representing "the Apostles, and not as to one representing all Believers.*

I suppose he understandeth Apostles in a large sense, for all messengers sent of Christ for the ministry of the Gospel in the Church. Otherwise, if he should mean, Christ spake to *Peter*, as to one representing

senting the Apostles properly so called (the 12. Apostles) then the Elders of Churches could claim no interest in the power of the Keys from Christs words to *Peter*.

Nor do I maintain from this place, that Christ spake to *Peter* as representing all Believers; but as representing Believers making publike profession of the Name of Christ before the Lord and their Brethren. Against this his Arguments be.

Arg. 1. "*Binding and loosing are denyed of our Boethren to belong* "*to many that make* Peters *confession* [Thou art the Son of the living "God] *as to believing Women and Children.*

Answ. 1. Women and children, though they being Believers, may make *Peters* confession, yet they make not publike confession before the Lord and his people, as *Peter* did. Now it is to Believers making publike confession of their faith in Christ, to whom the promise of the Keys is made.

Answ. 2. Women are expresly forbidden publike speech in the Church (and therefore publike profession) 1 *Cor.* 14. 34. And children are not able to make publike profession; And therefore both of them are justly exempted from the power of the Keys.

If it be objected, that it is a new and uncouth exposition of the Text, to interpret *Petere* confession, of the confession which members make of their faith, when they enter into the fellowship of the Church: nor were Christ and his Apostles at that time in hand with any such work.

I answer, Though *Peters* confession of his faith at that time was not made for such an end, for his admission into the houthold or Church of Christ: yet it is enough, That Christ rewardeth that confession of his, with such a promise of all Believers into his Church by such a dore. It is true, the same confession may be made upon other occasions: but yet this appeareth to be one occasion and use of this confession, to receive profest Believers into the fellowship of the Church, and the ordinances thereof; seeing we read that *Philip* made it a necessary præcedential act unto the Eunuch to make the like confession before he would receive him unto Baptisme, which was the seal of his admission, as into Christ, so into the fellowship of his Church. And accordingly it hath been anciently observed in the Primitive Churches, not to receive *Competentes*, or *Catechumeni* into the fellowship of the Church, and unto Baptisme, before they had made publike confession of their faith before the Lord and his Church: Which is a thing I doubt not, well known to M. *Rutterford*, to no man more; that I might seem to do him wrong to alledge testimonies for it.

Arg.

Arg. 2. *If Christ had spoken to* Peter *here of building a ministerial Church upon his confession, and gifting it with the Power of the Keys, then the Visible Church should be made as stable and firm from defection, as the Church of elect Believers, against whom the gates of Hell cannot prevail. Now this is most untrue, since Visible Churches do fall away (as the seven Churches in Asia, the Church of Corinth, Ephesus, &c.) and likewise this would warrant the Papists to make use of this place, as they do, to prove the Invincible stability of the Church and their impossibility of Apostacy, &c.*

Answ. 1. Though this or that Visible Church do fall away, yet Christ hath ever had some or other Visible Church upon the face of the earth, in one Country or other. Else the gates of hell had more prevailed against the Visible Christian Church, then ever this could do against the Visible Jewish Synagogue.

Answ. 2. This or that Visible Church that did fall away, was not a society of such profest believers as were built upon a rock; but rather the sinful generation that rose up after them, who did degenerate from their Parents faith and Profession, and so fell into the gulf of Apostacie, whether Turkish or Antichristian.

Answ. 3. Though the gates of hell have somtimes prevailed against this or that particular Visible Church, holding fast the profession of their faith without wavering: yet they have not prevailed to their destruction, but to their dispersion onely; which tendeth to the multiplication and enlargement of Particular Churches. The persecution raised by the gates of hell against the Primitive Church at Jerusalem about *Stephen*, it prevailed indeed to the dispersion of the whole Church (save the Apostles) *Acts* 8. 1. but that dispersion was as seed scattered out of the garner into the field, which bringeth forth a more plentiful harvest. And so did their dispersion propagate Churches both in Samaria and Antioch.

Answ. 4. Nor will this stability of Visible Churches promised by Christ, strengthen the Popish plea of the stability of their Church at Rome. For it is neither that promise of Christ, *Mat.* 16. nor any other that doth promise stability to any one particular Church in this Citie or Town: nor doth any exposition of ours, reach forth such a thing. The woman may be in the wildernes, and fed by witnesses, (the Church may be in obscure places, and fed by faithful witnesses) when yet neither her self, nor her witnesses dwell in Babylon.

FINIS.

The CONTENTS of the Chapters and Sections of the first Part.

Chapter 1.

OF *the Title inscribed to M.* Baylie *his book, A diswasive from the errors of the time,* Page 1

Chap. 2.

Sect. 1.2. *Of those whom the diswader stileth Brownists.* p. 2
Sect. 3. *Of M.* Brown *and M.* Barrow. p. 5
Sect. 4. *Of M.* Johnson *and M.* Ainsworth, p. 6
Sect. 5. *Of M.* Smith *and M.* Robinson. p. 6
Sect. 6. *Of the contempt and contumely said to be put upon the old Brownists, by the Independents.* p. 9

Chap. 3.

An answer to the diswaders 3d. *Chapter touching the original and progresse of the Independents in New-England.* p. 10

Sect. 1. *Of the title put upon us, of* { *A Sect,* / *Independent.* p. 10
Sect. 2. *Of the number of the Congregational Regiment, and of the wisdom threapt upon them, in engaging persons of note to them.* 12
Sect. 3. *Touching the line of the pedegree of the Independents in New-England.* p. 12
Sect. 4. *Of* Cottons *pretended former dislik of the new English way, and after closing with it.* p. 17
Sect. 5. *Of the pretended danger of the new English way unto the World, after* Cotton *and others closing with it.* p. 21
Sect. 6. *Of* Cottons *pretended misleading* { *M.* Davenport. / *M.* Goodwin. p. 23
Sect. 7. *Of* Cottons *pretended sudden change to the passionate affecting of the new English way, and the conversion of Mr.* Good-

Goodwin *to it.* p. 25
Sect. 8. *Of* Cottons *pretended raſhnes in change of his mind in latter and former times.* p. 28
Sect. 9. *Of* Cottons *pretended known failings, and M.* Baylies *pretended juſt cauſe to diſcover them to the World.* p. 30
Sect. 10. *Of* Cottons *prelatical tenents.* p. 32
Sect. 11. *Of* Cottons *pretended Pelagianiſme, and Arminian Errors.* p. 32
Sect. 12. *Of* Cottons *pretended Montaniſm.* p. 35
Sect. 13. *Of* Cottons *pretended Antinomianiſme and Familiſme.* p. 38
Queſt. 1. *Whether our Union with Chriſt be complete before, and without Faith?* p. 41
Queſt. 2. *Whether Faith be an inſtrumental cauſe in applying Chriſts righteouſneſſe to our juſtification?* p. 42
Queſt. 3. *Whether the Spirit of God in evidencing our juſtification, doth bear witnes in an abſolute promiſe of free Grace, without qualification or condition?* p. 43
Queſt. 4. *Whether ſome ſaving qualification may be a firſt evidence of juſtification?* p. 45
Qu. 5. *Whether Chriſt and his benefits be diſpenſed in a Covenant of works?* p. 46
Sect. 14. *Of* Cottons *humiliation upon his former fal, as is reported by M.* Bailie. p. 62
Sect. 15. *Of the ſhameful abſurdities ſaid to be found in the way of Independency, notwithſtanding the great helps, to prevent, or cover it: and firſt of thoſe helps.* p. 66
Sect. 16. *Of the firſt abſurdity ſaid to be found in our way of Independency.* p. 69
Sect. 17. *Of the ſecond ſhameful abſurditie, ſaid to be found in the way of Independency.* p. 73
Sect. 18. *Of the third ſhameful abſurditie ſaid to be found in our way of Independency.* p. 82
Sect. 19. *Tending to rectifie ſome miſtakes of M.* Bayly, *in relating the former abſurdities.* p. 87
Sect. 20. *Tending to conſider what better fruits might have been expected from Presbyterian Diſcipline for the removing of the like abſurdities.* p. 91

Chap. 4.

Sect. 1, 2, 3. *Of the antiquity of Congregational diſcipline, compared*

red with Classical. p. 93

Chap. 5.

Of the fruits of Congregational Discipline. p. 100
Sect. 1. *Of the fruits of it in the Primitive times.* p. 100
Sect. 2. *Of fruits of Congregational Discipline in our Churches in new-England.* p. 102
Sect. 3. *Of the fruits of Congregational Discipline in England.* p. 102

The CONTENTS of the second Part.

THe second Part (being Doctrinal and Controversal) concerning Congregational Churches and their Government. p. 1
Sect. 1. *Of the Churbh to which Christ committed the power of the Keyes.* p. 5
Sect. 2. *What the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven be.* p. 14
Sect. 3. *Of the Subject to whom the power of the Keyes is given.* page 19
Sect. 4. *Touching the power of the Keyes in the Church of Believers without Officers.* p. 21

Reader, be pleased (where its Printed false) to reade right; as in these instances.

Part. 1. p. 6. Αυθάδεια, p. 8. Forbes, p. 42. כלי p. 44. erga, p. 79. l. 6. Author. p. 83. l. 9. scelus.
Part 2. page 30. קלידה or rather קלרא p. 31, l. 16. Constance.

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